JUNK-SCIENCE PEDDLERS
DAWN HUCKELBRIDGE

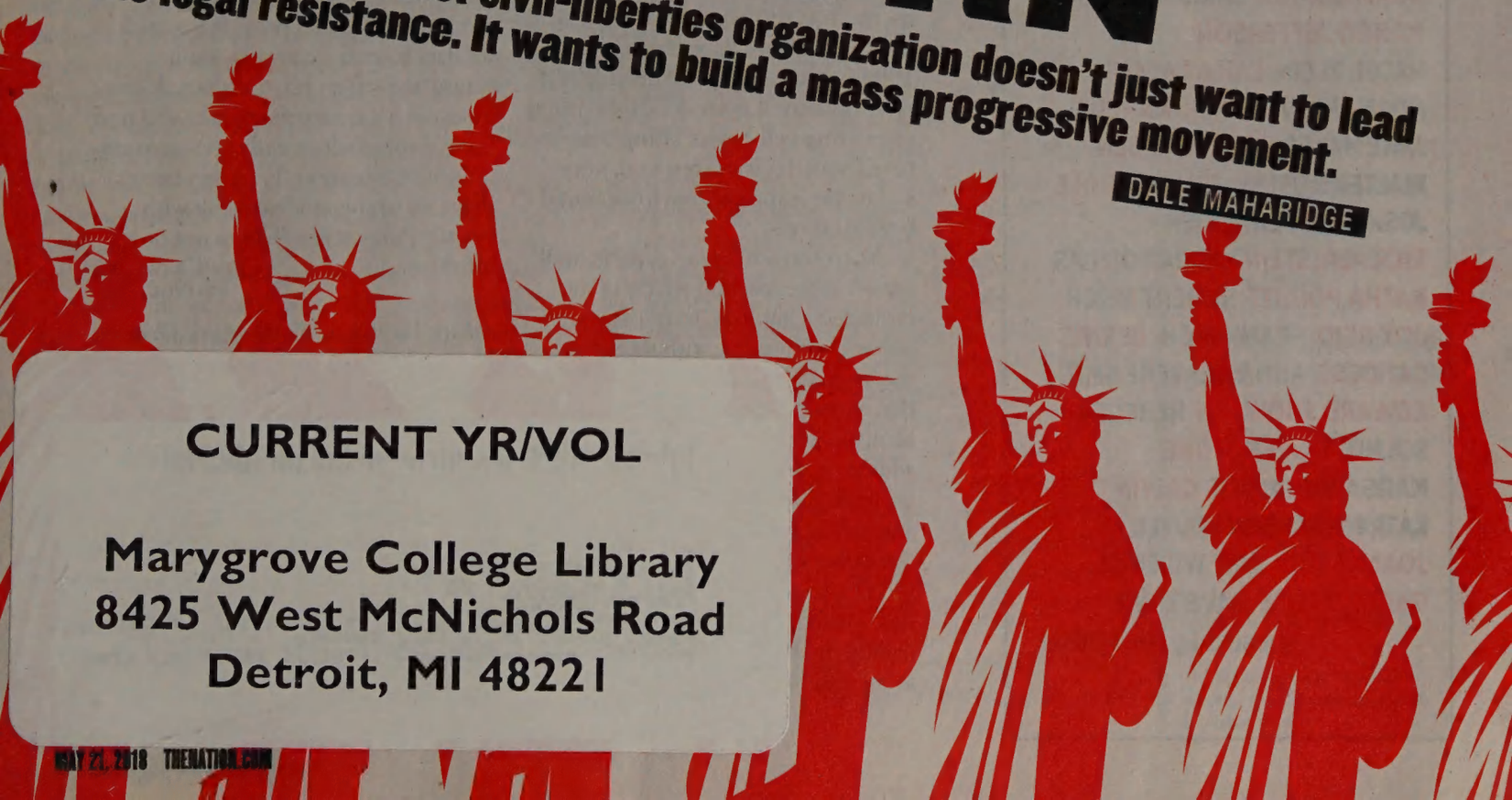
THE CIVIL-RIGHTS WOMEN
JANET DEWART BELL

THE Nation.

THE ACLU REBORN

The country's oldest civil-liberties organization doesn't just want to lead the legal resistance. It wants to build a mass progressive movement.

DALE MAHARIDGE



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Letters

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Crossed Wires

I have warned my children and grandchildren for years about the insanely dangerous levels of electromagnetic frequency (EMF) allowed in the United States. I cringe when I see young people with cell phones glued to their faces. Kudos to *The Nation*'s Mark Hertsgaard and Mark Dowie for linking Big Wireless cover-ups to the same tactics used by Big Tobacco, Big Oil, and Big Government ["How Big Wireless Made Us Think That Cell Phones Are Safe," April 23]. What I can't fathom is why corporate executives in all sectors continue to put so many youth at risk. Are they all childless, or just heartless?

Marianne Buchanan
Long Beach, Calif.

Thanks for the cover story about Big Wireless and the various "captured" (i.e., industry-lobbyist-infested) entities. Also deserving mention is the captured Congress that passed the Telecom Act of 1996 (which disallowed health and environmental considerations when regulating cell-tower siting), captured state legislatures, and, very sad to say, captured environmental organizations.

Microwave-weapons experts, well versed in the harmful effects of microwave technology, warn of a major public-health crisis, with threats to the integrity of our DNA. It is urgent that we unmask the disinformation about wireless technology, treat the addiction, get cell towers off school grounds, get wireless out of schools and public libraries, and mandate clear consumer warnings on devices such as cell phones, DECT cordless phones, and "smart" meters. Also urgent is defeating the Big Wireless push for 5G at the national, state, and local levels.

B.A. Geary
Tulsa, Okla.

I'm a proud progressive who's not a fan of wireless carriers. I spent many years supporting their technologies but was never comfortable with their business practices, accountability, or transparency. That being said, I take exception to *The Nation*'s article on Big Wireless, the premise of which seems to be that there is some insidious sickness being carried by cell-phone radio waves. That's trash science, on a par with those who would deny climate change.

The air is full of radiation from disparate sources, and it is excessively selective to blame very weak cell-phone signals while ignoring everything else bombarding our body, starting with the sun. The authors offer several compelling stories. But if they want to make a persuasive case rather than depending on (anecdotal) information, why not compare cancer statistics over the last couple of decades? Cell phones have become ubiquitous over a relatively short period of time and provide a wealth of data to statistically determine cause-and-effect relationships. If one does such a comparison, they will find minor correlations with near-zero evidence of causation. We progressives have no problem identifying with worthwhile causes. This is not one of them.

Jon Crawfurd
Gulfport, Fla.

Mark Hertsgaard and Mark Dowie got much of the wireless story right. Unfortunately, they were seduced by George Carlo and bought into his world of alternative facts. Despite repeated warnings from me and others, they portrayed this industry huckster as a Jeffrey Wigand–type "insider."

The real story is more interesting and, ironically, better fits their description of the industry playbook. Carlo and Tom Wheeler, the head

letters@thenation.com

(continued on page 26)

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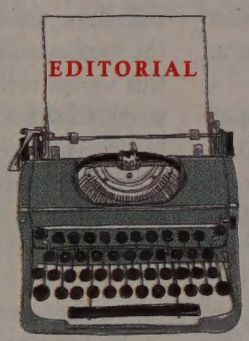
Save the Iran Nuke Deal!

If, as appears almost certain, President Trump announces on or before May 12 that the United States will withdraw from the Iran nuclear deal, formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), we will start down a path leading to increased regional tensions, the further spread of nuclear weapons, and, in the not-too-distant future, the outbreak of another Middle Eastern war. All that stands in the way of this terrifying scenario is the possibility that the JCPOA's three European signatories—Britain, France, and Germany, or the "E3"—will devise a last-minute plan to assuage some of Trump's objections to the deal, and that the Iranians will remain within the accord despite the threat or actual reimposition of US sanctions.

As it now stands, the Iran accord is one of the world's most successful efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons. Although the Iranians never admitted they were seeking a nuclear arsenal, their development of a massive infrastructure to produce enriched uranium and other materials that could be used for bombs suggests a secret drive to do so, or at least to acquire a nuclear-weapons capability. To subvert this effort, Washington and its partners pursued a twofold strategy, imposing tough economic sanctions even as they invited Iran to engage in denuclearization talks. This resulted, in July 2015, in the adoption of the JCPOA by Iran, China, Russia, the United States, the European Union, and the E3.



Under the accord, Iran agreed to significantly curb its nuclear-enrichment capacity, substantially reduce its uranium stockpile, and disable a reactor at Arak that could have been used to produce weapons-grade plutonium. Some of these limitations (such as the curbs on uranium enrichment) are set to expire in 10 or more years, while others (such as the dismantling of the Arak reactor) are permanent; all are subject to highly intrusive monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In return, Iran was promised the lifting of all nuclear-related sanctions (although not those imposed for other reasons, such as human-rights abuses).

By all accounts, including those from the IAEA and the State Department, Iran is fully complying with the agreement. "The deal is working," said Federica Mogherini, the European Union's foreign-affairs chief, in January. "It is delivering on its main goal, which means keeping the Iranian nuclear program in check and under close surveillance."

Ignoring these facts, Trump insists the JCPOA is "disastrously flawed" and must be "fixed." Among other things, he claims that it fails to curb Iran's ballistic-missile ambitions or its disruptive activities (such as in Syria and Yemen) throughout the Middle East—neither of which are relevant to the agreement. He also wants to make permanent some of the time-limited restrictions on Iran's nuclear program, a nonstarter for the Europeans and Iran.

Our best hope is that the E3 will reaffirm their strong commitment to the JCPOA by telling Trump that a renewed sanctions regime is unacceptable. They can also try to devise a plan that would satisfy at least some of his concerns, such as those over Iranian missile testing, which Trump could then use to declare "victory" and refrain from further attacks on the accord. Failing that, Washington is likely to resume strict sanctions and obstruct efforts by other countries to continue trading with Iran—which could impel Iran to leave the JCPOA, allowing it to rapidly reconstitute its uranium-enrichment program.

This, in turn, could spur other countries in the region, including Saudi Arabia, to seek nuclear arms of their own, and could eventually trigger military strikes on Iran by some combination of Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the United States—which could easily ignite a larger regional conflagration. It is essential, then, that the Europeans do everything they can to preserve the JCPOA. Congress can help to ensure this outcome by asserting its continued support for the deal and by doing all it can to facilitate the E3 initiative.

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May 21, 2018

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BY THE NUMBERS

700+
Children separated from their parents at the US border since October

550
Children who, fearing deportation, skipped school in Morristown, Tennessee, after a raid by Immigration and Customs Enforcement

70%
Income that a family loses, on average, within six months of a parent being detained or deported by ICE

42%
Increase in ICE arrests in the first eight months of 2017, compared with the same period a year earlier

—Joseph Hogan

"There's just fear and sadness written all over their faces."

Jessica Bailiff, a physics teacher in Morristown, Tennessee, describing her students after an ICE raid on a nearby meatpacking plant

Junk-Science Peddlers

The anti-choice extremists are back on top.

Matthew Bowman once wrote that employers who provide contraception coverage "kill embryos and bow to the altar of fruitless intercourse." He believes that contraceptives cause abortion and enable "promiscuity" and that the birth-control coverage mandated in the Affordable Care Act was part of the government's "anti-fertility" campaign. He rants about contraception as a part of "liberal faith in the sexual revolution." And he is deputy general counsel for the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) in the Trump administration and an architect of Trump's health-care policy, including the rule that overturned the ACA's contraception mandate last year.

This is now the approach to family planning in our country. Under the Trump-Pence administration, attacks on reproductive rights are reaching a fever pitch—not just on access to abortion care, but on contraception in all forms. Trump owes his election in large part to white evangelical voters, and it's payback time; as Vice President Pence recently noted, Trump is acting as "the most pro-life president in American history." He has given a platform as well as formidable power to the anti-choice movement's most extreme leaders, and they have reproductive rights in their crosshairs. Accordingly, a recent poll found Trump's approval rating among white evangelicals at an all-time high of 75 percent.

Administration officials are conflating contraception and abortion.

It's hard to remember now that for decades, support for family planning in America was bipartisan. Republican activists helped to establish Planned Parenthood, and Republican lawmakers worked to secure its funding; female Republican Party activists fought to legalize contraception and expand access; President Nixon first called for a national family-planning program and created Title X. Well-known Republicans like Barry Goldwater and his wife, Peggy; John D. Rockefeller Jr.; President Eisenhower; and even the first President Bush were birth-control champions and reformers. When the Republicans first adopted a position on abortion at their 1976 convention, the party and its delegates were majority pro-choice. The abortion issue was mostly used as a political tool to attract more Catholics to the party.

COMMENT

But as the religious right's power grew in the 1970s and '80s, and the Republican Party became more dependent on voters who were socially (not just fiscally) conservative, anti-choice politics became fundamental to the party. Meanwhile, the issue of choice became a cultural marker, increasingly associated with feminism, social liberalism, and the sexual revolution. Abortion became a kind of political Rorschach test, an indicator of a particular worldview and how one felt about gender roles as a whole. Opposing legal abortion was about controlling women and maintaining the political power of the "pro-life" movement.

A key part of the strategy to increase that power became the conflation of abortion and family planning. Dating back to the 1990s, groups such as the Christian Coalition, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the National Right to Life Committee began to claim that US funding for family-planning services "freed up money to allow abortions to be performed," as *Conscience* magazine reported. Like Trump, George W. Bush owed his election to Christian voters—white evangelicals made up nearly a quarter of the electorate in 2004, and an overwhelming majority voted for Bush—and he spent his years in office bringing religion into many of his administration's programs. In 2005, the Food and Drug Administration delayed approval of over-the-counter availability for emergency contraception, with opponents arguing that it caused abortion and encouraged "teenage promiscuity." In 2006, the Bush administration appointed a new head of family planning at HHS from a Christian organization espousing the idea that birth control is "demeaning to women, degrading of human sexuality, and adverse to human health and happiness." Whereas Republicans had once embraced family planning, now there was a dishonest narrative that contraception led to more abortions, rather than the inverse—and that it led to moral decline and a fundamental shift in the social order.

That brings us to today. Trump is filling his administration, agencies, and courts with anti-choice activists who peddle junk science and lies about both contraception and abortion. They claim that certain methods of contraception are actually abortifacients because they prevent the implantation of fertilized eggs. Even if this were true, this would still be preventing pregnancy by its legal and scientific definition, but these methods almost always work by preventing ovulation or fertilization. And these officials are increasingly blurring the lines between contraception and abortion. It was recently reported that a constituent who contacted the administration about the rollback of the birth-control rule was sent a response thanking her "for taking the time to express your views regarding abortion."

It's not just Matthew Bowman. Roger Severino, director of the Office for Civil Rights at HHS, has referred to "abortion-inducing drugs and devices" in regard to the Supreme Court case about contraception coverage. Scott Lloyd, the head of the Office of Refugee Resettlement at HHS, has written that IUDs, emergency contraception, and contraceptive pills are "killing nascent human life" and that "contraception leads to a culture dependent on abortion." Cathy Deeds, a former senior adviser in the Office of Population Affairs, wrote that emergency contraception is abortion and that the "assumption" that contraception reduces unintended pregnancies and abortions is "false." Teresa Manning, who served as the head of HHS's family-planning programs, also argued against contraception as a means of reducing abortions and said that the "incidence of contraception use and the incidence of abortion go hand in hand." She also referred to "new abortion-inducing drugs disguised as contraceptives."

Charmaine Yoest, Katy Talento, and Valerie Huber,

(continued on page 8)

REUTERS / STEPHANIE KEITH

THE SCORE/BRYCE COVERT + MIKE KONCZAL

A Smoking Gun

Road rage is an American pastime. Nearly 80 percent of motorists admitted to at least one instance of aggressive driving in the past year, according to a 2016 study. A generation ago, drivers confronting each other over a traffic squabble could assume their quarrel would end with strong words or, at worst, a black eye. But in 2013, after one car tailgated another, two men in Ionia, Michigan, stopped in a parking lot to resolve their dispute. Instead of duking it out, they pulled out guns and shot each other. Both men legally carried a concealed weapon; both died in the hospital. (In states without a "right to carry," the law usually requires people to store their firearms in the trunks of their cars.)

In 1997, researchers John Lott and David Mustard asserted that more guns meant less crime; it was an influential argument that likely contributed to states passing right-to-carry laws. Ever since, there's been a debate over the effects of this legislation on violent crime.

When states passed right-to-carry laws, violent crime ended up higher than it would have been otherwise.

But with an updated paper by legal scholars John Donohue and Abhay Aneja and economist Kyle Weber, there's a new consensus: Right-to-carry laws actually *increase* the rate of violent crime. Ten years after a state passes a right-to-carry law, violent crime—which includes murder, manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault—will be 13 to 15 percent higher than if the state had done nothing.

What makes this new report so convincing? First, there's simply a lot more experience with right-to-carry laws: 33 states adopted such legislation between 1981 and 2007. There's also a lot more data: The researchers were able to track crime statistics until 2014.

Starting in the early 1990s, violent crime plummeted across the United States. That reduction has masked the effects of right-to-carry laws, but the states that implemented them showed a smaller decrease in violent crime than the ones that didn't. By itself, this isn't sufficient evidence, since there could be other factors involved. But the study's authors used a variety of controls to compare the two sets of states, and they found that the increase in violent crime holds. Interestingly, with the additional data, they found that even the methods of researchers like Lott and Mustard confirm this rise.

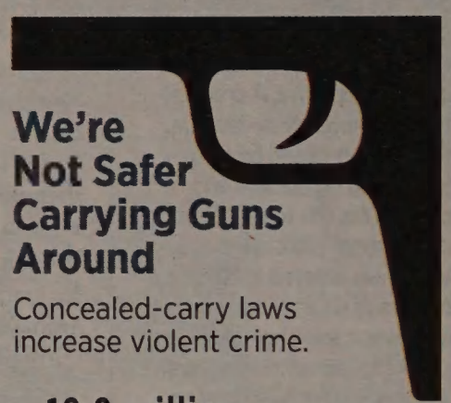
The authors of this new paper have taken advantage of cutting-edge statistical techniques. They constructed synthetic control groups for states and used what's known as a LASSO analysis to pick the best variables for comparison. The important thing to know about these methods is that, no matter the relative trade-offs of the statistical tool, the findings were consistent: When states passed right-to-carry laws, violent crime ended up higher than it would have been otherwise.

The report also found that a right to carry has no deterrent effect on property crimes. (Indeed, in some of the calculations, such crimes increased.) This lack of deterrence isn't surprising, given that victims of violent crimes fail to defend themselves with a gun 99.2 percent of the time. Using reasonable estimates of the relationship between incarceration and crime—that for every 10 percent increase in incarceration, there's a 1.5 percent decrease in crime—the researchers estimate that the average right-to-carry state would have to double its prison population to counter the effects of this legislation.

What causes this rise? The authors note several channels, including road rage, bar fights, and other heated interactions that once would have ended in insults or a fistfight, but that now suddenly turn deadly. Also, people who carry guns outside their homes have their firearms stolen at a rate of more than 1 percent a year, making these concealed-carry permit holders a nice source of guns for would-be criminals.

This research comes at a perfect time. A bill that passed the House in December and is currently before the Senate Judiciary Committee would allow people with a concealed-carry permit in a given state to carry their firearms in the rest of the country. On April 19, the International Association of Chiefs of Police, which includes the heads of 18,000 departments, sent a letter to Congress opposing the law. Now there is overwhelming evidence to back up their claims: Right-to-carry laws only lead to more violence.

MIKE KONCZAL


We're Not Safer Carrying Guns Around
Concealed-carry laws increase violent crime.
16.3 million
have a permit for a concealed gun.
256%
since 2007
Only 8 states give law enforcement discretion to deny applicants a concealed-carry permit: CA, DE, HI, MA, MD, NJ, NY, RI
In a state that passes a concealed-carry law, violent crime will be
13–15%
higher after 10 years than it would be otherwise.

Sources: National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 23510, January 2018; GunsToCarry data, April 2018.

2018 Infographic: Tracy Matsue Loeffelholz

HOUSING CRISIS

Yes, in My Backyard

Los Angeles County's latest effort to fight homelessness is the literal opposite of NIMBYism. A pilot program to build backyard "granny flats" for homeowners who agree to host a homeless person or family is making headway, as officials narrow down hundreds of applicants for sponsored Accessory Dwelling Units (ADUs) to six finalists. The *Los Angeles Times* reports that one granny flat could cost the local government just $15,000 a year for three years—about the same as a shelter bed.

While ADUs are not new, they have failed to gain traction as a housing alternative. A proposal in Oregon recently stalled due to challenges posed by existing building regulations and potential tax hits to participating homeowners, while another in Seattle was delayed in 2016 by a coalition of wealthy homeowners. ADUs won't solve homelessness, but LA's initiative could at least pave the way for new thinking about how to tackle the country's affordable-housing crisis.

The problem is dire. LA County's homeless population has increased by 75 percent over the past six years, and in 2017, the number of people living on New York City's streets jumped by nearly 40 percent in a single year. Yet the skyrocketing rents and expanding income gaps in major US metropolitan areas show no signs of slowing down. Lawmakers and activists must develop long-term strategies for tackling extreme wealth inequality, but in the interim, new affordable-housing ideas are desperately needed.

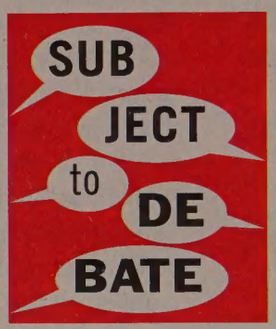
—Madeleine Han

Katha Pollitt

MBS the Modernizer?

If he truly wants to promote freedom, the crown prince must release Raif Badawi.

Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, popularly known as "MBS," has received a lot of great press lately as a modernizer. You may have seen his smiling photo in *Time*'s list of the world's 100 most influential people, right up there with Jimmy Kimmel and Cardi B. The accompanying paragraph by Manal al-Sharif, a Saudi feminist who was jailed in 2011 for driving a car, is cautiously optimistic: "At first I was skeptical of the prince's Vision 2030 plan to modernize our kingdom. I have come around. Most Saudis are under age 30, and have only known elderly rulers. Now a major leader is our peer. I want to see the changes lead to political reforms, even a constitutional monarchy and full freedom of expression. If MBS would do that, my hopes for a better Saudi Arabia are bigger than the sky."



Well, here's hoping. Mohammed has already made some changes toward the goals set out in Vision 2030, his blueprint for Saudi Arabia's future, which acknowledges that the kingdom won't be able to depend solely on oil exports and needs to evolve economically, socially, and politically in order to survive. Since 2015, women have been able to vote and run in municipal elections; more jobs have been opened to them. In June, they'll be allowed to drive. There's even talk of ending the guardianship system under which every woman, no matter how old, is under the legal control of a male relative. Movie theaters are opening up after a 35-year ban (first film shown: *Black Panther*). All this is part of the prince's larger plan to diversify the economy and welcome tourists and foreign investment. Crucially, he says he wants to adopt a more moderate Islam than the severe Wahhabism that is the state religion and that Saudi Arabia has aggressively promoted around the world. (Islam is the only religion permitted in the kingdom.)

But if Mohammed, ruler of the country in all but name, really wants to show the world that he is moving Saudi Arabia away from repression, theocracy, and the flagrant and barbaric disregard of human rights, it's imperative that he release and pardon Raif Badawi, a liberal blogger who has been detained since 2012, when he was charged with, among other things, "apostasy," a capital crime. Badawi was cleared of apostasy in 2013, but he was sentenced a year later to 10 years in prison plus 1,000 lashes, of which he received 50, for "insulting Islam through electronic channels." Witnessed by a crowd of hundreds, the flogging left Badawi severely injured and touched off an international furor. Subsequent installments have been postponed.

What did Badawi write that brought the religious establishment down on his head? On his blog, *Free Saudi Liberals*, he opposed political Islam and called for freedom of speech and thought and an end to fundamentalist, obscurantist, coercive religion. His blog was taken down in 2012, but *The Guardian* gathered a sample of his posts:

§ "As soon as a thinker starts to reveal his ideas, you will find hundreds of fatwas that accused him of being an infidel just because he had the courage to discuss some sacred topics. I'm really worried that Arab thinkers will migrate in search of fresh air and to escape the sword of the religious authorities."

§ "Secularism respects everyone and does not offend anyone.... Secularism...is the practical solution to lift countries (including ours) out of the third world and into the first world."

§ "No religion at all has any connection to mankind's civic progress. This is not a failing on the part of religion but rather that all religions represent a particular, precise spiritual relationship between the individual and the Creator...."

Badawi's call for a secular state—one that does not attempt to stifle creativity, science, knowledge, and progress—has clear continuities with what Mohammed himself claims to want for his country: "a moderate Islam open to the world and all religions." "The crown prince wants to be seen as a credible international leader," said Irwin Cotler, the former Canadian MP who is Badawi's international legal counsel, when we spoke by phone. "But you can't claim to be in good faith when you imprison a guy who says the same things you do."

Badawi's call for a secular state has clear continuities with what MBS claims to want for his country.

Badawi's case has received a lot of attention. In 2015, he was awarded the Sakharov Prize from the European Union, its highest honor and just one

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"There's a global call to release Raif, so wherever the crown prince goes, he's going to hear it."

of a slew of important awards he's garnered around the world. In Canada, where his wife, Ensaf Haidar, and children have been granted asylum, the House of Commons has issued a unanimous call for his release. Recently, the Canadian PM Trudeau raised his case with the Saudis. In the US both Senator Marco Rubio and Representative Jim McGovern have taken up Badawi's cause, as has virtually every human-rights NGO on the planet. "There's a global call to release Raif," said Cotler, "so wherever the crown prince goes, he's going to hear it."

It's important to note that Badawi isn't the only person in prison in Saudi Arabia for crimes of thought and expression. His lawyer, Waleed Abu al-Khair, received an even longer sentence. But Badawi, Cotler argues, is unique: There have been no other cases "where the legal and human-rights violations are as comprehensive and egregious; no one else got lashes, which is torture."

It's hard to be keen on an autocratic ruler who has reduced neighboring Yemen to rubble—according to the United Nations, Yemen is now the worst humanitarian disaster of our time—and who, over the past year, has arrested and jailed dozens of intellectuals, clerics, and businessmen, several of whom were beaten and one of whom died. The case of Raif Badawi, his lawyer, and other prisoners of conscience will be one of many tests that show whether the prince is serious about expanding freedom in one of the most repressive countries in the world, or whether he's just engaged in public relations.

No matter how much oil the Saudis possess—to say nothing of Mohammed bin Salman himself, with his half-billion-dollar yacht and palace near Versailles—Badawi's words ring true: "For me, liberalism simply means, live and let live. This is a splendid slogan." ■

(continued from page 4)

who have all served as top Trump health officials *and* have significant anti-choice résumés, have made similar claims. Talento wrote that birth control causes "miscarriages of already-conceived children" and will "ruin your uterus for baby-hosting." Trump's judicial nominees include Matthew Kacsmaryk, who blogged about opposition to emergency contraception as objecting to "government's mandate to kill, cut, or medicate another human being," and Wendy Vitter, who supported a fringe figure's claims that the "pill kills" and that abortion causes breast cancer.

Meanwhile, under the Trump administration, vital family-planning programs are being cut or gutted. The birth-control insurance mandate was rolled back. The Teen Pregnancy Prevention Program is being cut. The future of Title X is at risk. Comprehensive sex education is being replaced by abstinence-only curriculums. As Erica Sackin from Planned Parenthood noted, "Right now our country is at a 30-year low for unintended pregnancy, because of expanded access to birth control and sex education. This administration is trying to take all of that away."

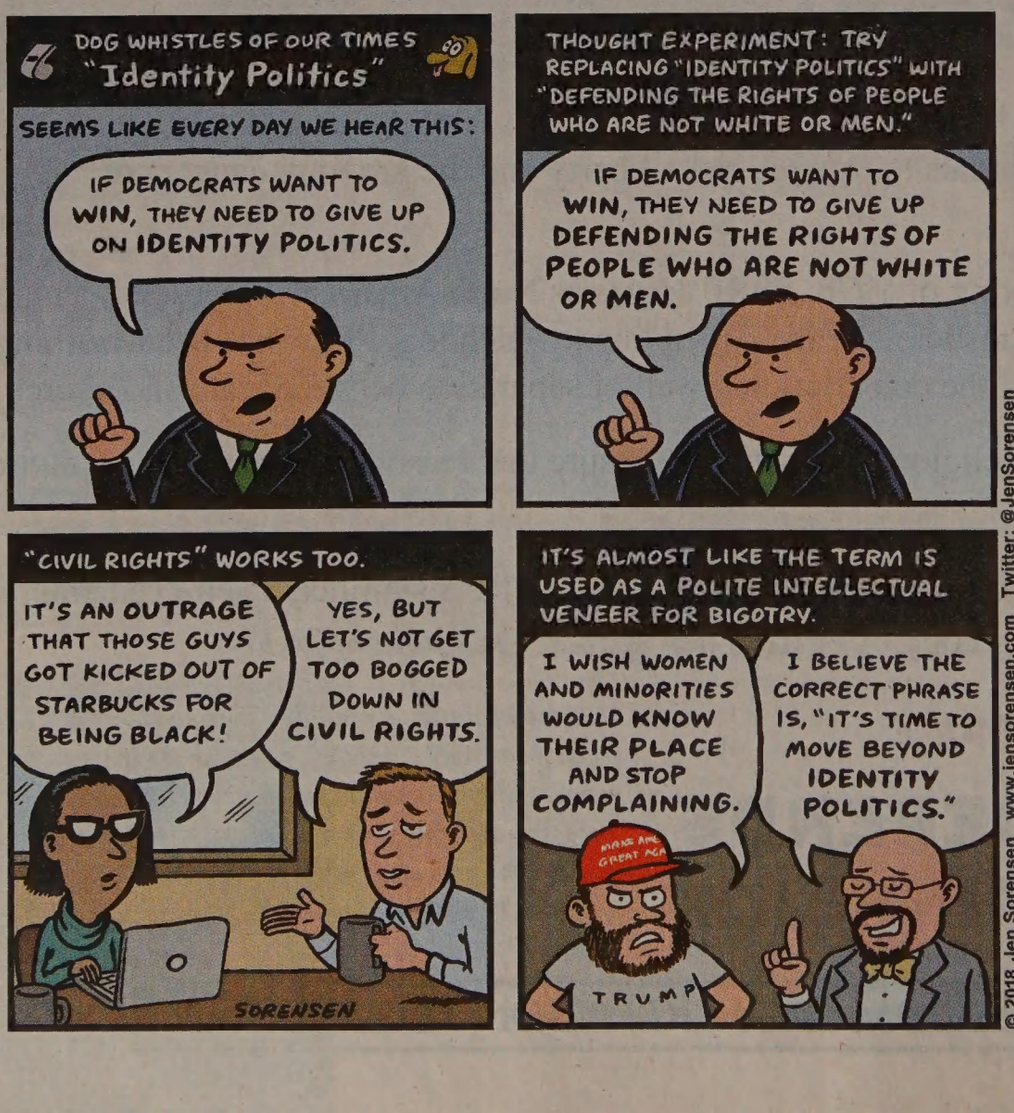
This shouldn't be a debate. Accessible and affordable contraception reduces unplanned pregnancies, which leads to lower abortion rates. If this really was an argument about "life," the far right would be trying to prevent unwanted pregnancies. If this really was about protecting babies and children, the far right would be investing in postnatal care and WIC and CHIP, not calling for cuts to those programs. But anti-choice politics has become an indication of a political and cultural ideology that keeps women out of the public sphere and positions of power. Access to abortion care and contraception both conflict with this worldview. As the ruling in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* affirmed, "The ability of women to participate equally in the economic and social life of the Nation has been facilitated by their ability to control their reproductive lives." Reproductive freedom allows women to control their own sexuality and lives, which for many seems a dangerous proposition.

DAWN HUCKELBRIDGE

Dawn Huckelbridge is the director of the Women's Rights Initiative at American Bridge.

COMIX NATION

JEN SORENSEN


DOG WHISTLES OF OUR TIMES
"Identity Politics"
SEEMS LIKE EVERY DAY WE HEAR THIS:
IF DEMOCRATS WANT TO WIN, THEY NEED TO GIVE UP ON IDENTITY POLITICS.
THOUGHT EXPERIMENT: TRY REPLACING "IDENTITY POLITICS" WITH "DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT WHITE OR MEN."
IF DEMOCRATS WANT TO WIN, THEY NEED TO GIVE UP DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT WHITE OR MEN.
"CIVIL RIGHTS" WORKS TOO.
IT'S AN OUTRAGE THAT THOSE GUYS GOT KICKED OUT OF STARBUCKS FOR BEING BLACK!
YES, BUT LET'S NOT GET TOO BOGGED DOWN IN CIVIL RIGHTS.
SORENSEN
IT'S ALMOST LIKE THE TERM IS USED AS A POLITE INTELLECTUAL VENEER FOR BIGOTRY.
I WISH WOMEN AND MINORITIES WOULD KNOW THEIR PLACE AND STOP COMPLAINING.
I BELIEVE THE CORRECT PHRASE IS, "IT'S TIME TO MOVE BEYOND IDENTITY POLITICS."
MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN
TRUMP
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ADVERTISEMENT

Costly Joint-Pain Injections Replaced By New $2 Pill

New pill boosts the same lubricating joint fluid as expensive and painful injections - without using a needle. Users report dramatic relief from swelling, pain and stiffness without side effects and expense.

By Jack Isler, M.D.
Health News Syndicate

HNS—A popular needle injection for people with joint pain is now available in an inexpensive nonprescription pill. The breakthrough came when researchers discovered a way to deliver the injected "relief molecule" through the digestive system.

Top US clinics have used these needle injections for years because they deliver powerful relief. Unfortunately, the shots are painful and expensive. They also only work on the joint being treated.

The new pill, called Synovia, delivers the same "relief molecule" as the injections. However, it has some impressive advantages. First, it's inexpensive and nonprescription. Also, relief is delivered to every joint in the body because it enters the bloodstream through the digestive system.

This gives it the ability to reduce a much wider variety of pain. Users report greater flexibility and less stiffness in their knees. Hands and shoulders move pain-free for the first time in years. Even neck and lower back pain improve dramatically.

All this without spending over $600 on needle injections and taking trips to the doctor every week.

The medical community is very excited about this new breakthrough. Dr. Jacob Moss says, "Synovia is a great option for those suffering from joint pain. Injections are usually a last resort because of the pain and expense. However, Synovia should be taken at the first sign of discomfort."

New Discovery

The needle injection procedure has been given to hundreds of thousands of patients over the last several years.

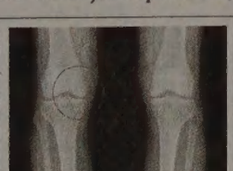
Doctors use the shots to boost a critical element of the joint called synovial fluid. This lubricating fluid is found between the cartilage and bones of every joint.

According to the firm's head of R&D, Mike McNeill, "Researchers have been working for years to find a way to boost this fluid noninvasively. The problem was the molecule used in the injections was too large to absorb into the bloodstream."

Top scientists conquered this obstacle by finding a smaller form of the same molecule. This new glucose form is easily absorbed by your stomach and intestines!

Now those who suffer from joint pain can get relief without painful injections. At less than $2 per day, early users like Steve Young are impressed. He says, "I've tried more pills than I can count, without any luck. Synovia is different. My knees and hands haven't felt this good in years!"

BEFORE: No lubricating fluid or cartilage leads to painful bone-on-bone rubbing.



AFTER: Synovia's active ingredients lubricate joints and nourish cartilage so it can re-grow!

Impressive Clinical Results

Leading clinics use injection therapy because it works. Recent clinical trials show the pill form also delivers major relief.

One example is a landmark study out of Europe. In the study the active ingredient in Synovia was compared to a popular NSAID pain reliever. The goal was to see if it could reduce pain and swelling around the knee. The results were incredible!

After just 30 days, more than 8 out of 10 people who took Synovia's active ingredient had NO swelling. However, only 2 out of 10 people who took the NSAID experienced reduced swelling.

The study also looked at cases of severe swelling. Amazingly, zero cases of severe swelling were detected in the group taking the active ingredient found in Synovia. This means it was 100% effective for the cases of severe swelling!

In contrast, 9 out of 10 people taking the NSAID still had severe swelling. McNeill points out, "The impressive thing about this study is the active ingredient wasn't tested against a fake pill. It was up against one of the most popular NSAIDs people use every day. It's easy to see why people in pain are excited to get relief without an injection."

The New Way It Delivers Relief

Getting relief without injections has big advantages. The most obvious is avoiding being stuck by a large needle every week for 5 weeks.

Another downside of injections is the doctor can "miss". The needle needs to be inserted into a precise spot in the joint to work. Otherwise, you risk the treatment being ineffective.

However, boosting your lubricating joint fluid by taking a pill delivers relief to all your joints, not just one.

There's an additional reason the active ingredient in Synovia works so well – it nourishes the cartilage.

McNeill says, "This is vital because cartilage does not have blood vessels. The fluid in the joint serves two very important pain-relief roles: lubrication and giving the cartilage the nutrients it needs to start re-growing."

Approved By Leading Doctors

The new delivery system for this molecule has caught the attention of leading medical doctors.

"Needle injections for joint pain have been around for years because they work. Being able to get the same relief molecule through a pill is amazing. Injections may be a last resort, but I'd recommend Synovia at the first sign of pain," said Dr. Marie Laguna.

NO MORE NEEDLES: A popular needle injection pain-killer for joint pain is being replaced. The key molecule in these injections can now be delivered by taking a new low-cost pill called Synovia.

Dr. Gerardo Pereira, a renowned surgeon from Florida says, "Injections aim to boost synovial fluid, which lubricates the joint. Those suffering from joint pain usually have very little of this fluid. Synovia helps relieve pain by boosting this key lubricant without needles."

Dr. Moss adds, "The research behind the active ingredient in Synovia is very exciting. This product is a great choice for those who haven't had success with other joint pain treatments."

110% Money Back Guarantee

Amazing feedback from users of Synovia has generated a wave of confidence at the company. So much so that they now offer Synovia with a 110% money back guarantee.

The company's president, Michael Kenneth says, "We've seen how well it works. Now we want to remove any risk for those who might think Synovia sounds too good to be true."

Simply take the pill exactly as directed. You must enjoy fast acting relief. Otherwise, return the product as directed and you'll receive 100% of your money back plus an extra 10%.

How To Get Synovia

Today marks the oficial nation wide release of Synovia. As such, the company is offering a special discounted supply to everyone who calls within the next 48 hours.

A Regional Order Hotline has been set up for local readers to call. This is the only way to try Synovia with their "110% money back" guarantee.

Starting at 6:00 am today the order hotline will be open for 48 hours. All you have to do is call TOLL FREE 1-800-995-7987 and provide the operator with the special discount approval code: SYN18. The company will do the rest.

Current supplies of Synovia are limited, and callers that don't get through to the order hotline within the next 48 hours may have to pay more and wait until more inventory is produced. This could take as long as 6 weeks.

THESE STATEMENTS HAVE NOT BEEN EVALUATED BY THE FOOD TNE DRUG ADMINSTRATION. THIS PRODUCT IS NOT INTENDED TO DIAGNOSE, TREAT, CURE OR PREVENT ANY DISEASE. ALL DOCTORS MENTIONED ARE REMUNERATED FOR THEIR SERVICE. ALL CLINICAL STUDIES WERE INDEPENDENTLY CONDUCTED AND WERE NOT SPONSORED BY MAKERS OF SYNOVIA.

RACISM IN AMERICA

Bay City Trollers

Over a two-day period, students and others parked cars adorned with large Confederate flags in front of Bay City Western High School in Auburn, Michigan. The vehicular protest began after a white student claimed that a black classmate had removed a Confederate flag from his truck. And so, on April 17, six trucks bearing the battle flag pulled up outside the school; the next day, a dozen more joined in support. In response, a small group of student counterprotesters gathered outside holding rainbow flags and "Black Lives Matter" signs. Rumors of adults planning to confront the students prompted school officials to cancel classes the following day.

Despite potential threats to the students, Auburn Mayor Lee Kilbourn defended the First Amendment rights of the pro-flag demonstrators: "They're doing their legal constitutional duty.... People have to grow up and need to respect other people's views."

Auburn is almost 98 percent white, and Bay City Western has few students of color. Inside the school, one black student said, a white student taunted him by shoving a Confederate flag in his face, while another asked: "Do slaves have feelings?"

According to FBI data, hate crimes in the United States hit a five-year high in 2016, increasing around Donald Trump's victory. The president's divisive politics have clearly emboldened racists across the country, and schools, unfortunately, are not immune from the hate. —Safiya Charles

Gary Younge

A Changing Windrush

Elderly black Britons from the Caribbean have become the conscience of the UK.

Paulette Wilson, 61, came to Britain from Jamaica in 1968, when she was just 10, to live with her grandparents. She never left, living legally in the country for the next 50 years—attending school, serving meals at the House of Commons and to the homeless at her church, and becoming a grandmother. Then, in 2015, Wilson received notice that she was an illegal immigrant and would be sent "back" to Jamaica—a country where she didn't know anyone. She was taken to a detention center, and only a last-minute legal reprieve kept her in the UK. "I wondered what was going to happen to me. All I did was cry, thinking of my daughter and granddaughter; thinking that I wasn't going to see them again," she told a reporter from *The Guardian*.

Wilson's story ended up being the first of many such tales in what has become the biggest immigration scandal in the UK in decades, prompting a flurry of apologies at the highest level. It's a scandal that could yet take down the British prime minister and force a reckoning with the xenophobic immigration laws put in place over the past five years.

Another person affected by those laws was Michael Braithwaite, 66, a grandfather who came to Britain from Barbados in 1961, at the age of 9. He worked his entire life, only to lose his job as a special-needs teaching assistant after a "routine" immigration check.

A third was 63-year-old Albert Thompson (not his real name), who came from Jamaica as a teenager and lived in London for 44 years, only to be evicted from his council house because he couldn't prove citizenship. Thompson was also denied cancer treatment by the National Health Service unless he paid £54,000 ($75,000).

All of these people—and many, many others are emerging—are in the country legally. Indeed, many essentially arrived with British passports, because the countries they came from were not yet independent. Nearly all of them lost access to housing, health care, or pensions. Some were handed bills for services they had used.

Amazingly, none of this was a mistake. In 2014, the Conservative government passed an immigration act underpinned by a "hostile environment" policy aimed at undocumented immigrants. The goal was to make life so hellish that people would, in Mitt Romney's words, "self-deport." The British government even sent vans around black neighborhoods in London with the message: "In the UK Illegally? Go Home or Face Arrest." The legislation effectively made any Brit—health professionals, teachers, employers, landlords—a border guard, authorized (and sometimes required) to check your immigration status; and it made every immigrant a suspect until they could prove they were legal.

So someone like Braithwaite, who'd never had a passport, was suddenly asked to produce four pieces of documentation for every year he'd been in the country, stretching back over 50 years. And when he couldn't, he lost his job.

Even the British high commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago had the passport application for his Trinidadian-born infant son rejected. "You cannot be more British than the British High Commissioner but he wasn't British enough," tweeted the diplomat, who managed to sort it out. "Compared to the experience of many deserving British residents...my problems were trivial. But it illustrates a #HomeOffice that defaults to refusal wherever possible."

The government sent vans around black neighborhoods in London with the message: "In the UK Illegally? Go Home or Face Arrest."

This was not a glitch in the system; it *was* the system. Indeed, the architect of this policy is now the prime minister, Theresa May. She can be forgiven for being taken aback by the recent response: The law was enacted at a time when xenophobia was running high. With a handful of exceptions (current Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn being one of them), Labour supported the law. Back then, it seemed there was no political price to pay for being hateful toward immigrants.

As several similar stories appeared over the past five months, the Conservative government evidently calculated that a handful of elderly Caribbean-born black folk who couldn't get their paperwork together would hardly pose a threat. Then, in mid-April, the dam broke in the national

LEFT: FLICKR / ELVERT BARNES; TOP: ANDY FRIEDMAN

imagination. There have been demonstrations and large meetings in favor of these immigrants across the country.

Quite what broke that dam is not clear. It appears these Caribbeans had become "good immigrants" who stumbled into the line of xenophobic fire. They became known as the "Windrush generation," named after the HMT *Empire Windrush*, a ship that brought mostly Jamaican servicemen to the UK in 1948, marking the symbolic beginning of a postwar migration to Britain from its former colonies in the Caribbean.

The reverence that the Windrush generation has enjoyed since the scandal came to light has been surprising to many of us who follow race politics (my mother was of that generation)—but it's been especially astonishing for them. They came of age in Britain during a period of intense and open racial hostility, with segregated bars, police harassment, and episodic racial violence. But their elevation to a national treasure in recent weeks has offered hope on two fronts: first, that Britain is not immune to a compassionate conversation about immigrants. For two weeks solid, we have been talking about the taxes they pay, the communities they create, the nation they helped build, and the fact that their arrival changed it for the better.

Second, it offers hope that we might be able to take that revelation and apply it to more recent immigrants. The government's apologies thus far have been tailored to the Windrush generation. The message, in essence, has been: "The hostility wasn't meant for you—it was meant for someone else." But now the human costs of such a policy have been illustrated in a way that people can relate to, and so we might be able to shift the way in which the debate has been framed. That may seem unlikely. But in a world where elderly, working-class black people touch the conscience of a Western nation, anything is possible. ■

We have been talking about the taxes they pay, the communities they create, and the fact that their arrival changed Britain for the better.

SNAPSHOT / DAMIAN DOVARGANES

#NeverAgain

High-school student Sebastian Chavez joins hundreds of others in Los Angeles protesting gun violence as part of the National School Walkout, which took place on April 20. The event marked the 19th anniversary of the Columbine shooting.

Depressing White House Personnel News

Calvin Trillin
Deadline Poet

The cable-news folks never tire
Of wondering who Trump will fire.
Will Kelly's tries at saying no
Mean he will be the next to go?
Will Pruitt's graft at long last force
A flight back home—first class, of course?
Trump's universe is not diverse:
The new guy's almost always worse.

AP PHOTO

THE ACLU Reborn

The country's oldest civil-liberties organization doesn't just want to lead the legal resistance. It wants to build a mass progressive movement.

by DALE MAHARIDGE

The Nation.

IN FEBRUARY 2017, JUST A FEW WEEKS AFTER DONALD TRUMP BEGAN ROLLING OUT EXECUTIVE ORDERS TARGETING undocumented immigrants, activists in Phoenix submitted a petition to the City Council requesting that Phoenix become a sanctuary city. It was an ambitious demand: Phoenix sits in the middle of a state with some of the most draconian anti-immigrant laws in the country, at the epicenter of what was, for nearly a quarter of a century, Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio's brutal fiefdom. Declaring Phoenix a sanctuary city would have meant defying both law and tradition, as well as the orders of the new president. The council promptly rejected the petition in a 7–2 vote.

By July, however, the city had revised its policy. The Phoenix Police Department announced that its officers would no longer question the immigration status of many of the people they dealt with. "Driving while Latino" would no longer be an occasion for cops to pull over a car and demand its occupants' papers. Police would no longer demand the status of crime victims and witnesses; they'd also be prohibited from cornering students on school grounds. Phoenix was on its way to becoming a sanctuary city.

What had changed during those five months? Victories are rarely simple, and the story of how Phoenix flipped course is no different: Behind it are years of organizing by immigrant groups, advocates, and activists. But it can also be traced, in part, to what Assistant City Manager Milton Dohoney Jr. described in an e-mail to other officials as "One of the most reasonable groups I've talked with since coming here." The group, he continued, "was very pleasant. A former high school teacher, a magazine editor, 2 attys, a massage therapist, and two Hispanic advocates who I've never seen before. Clearly wanting to work with us in a non adversarial way."

Those seven activists belonged to People Power, a grassroots initiative launched in early 2017 by the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU has long used litigators to advance civil rights in courts—to expand the reach of justice through landmark cases like *Scopes*, *Korematsu*, *Miranda*, and *Obergefell*. But in a fundamental transformation, the ACLU is now incorporating volunteer organizers to work in tandem with its staff attorneys. The hope, said executive director Anthony Romero, is to seed a kind of citizen-led civil-rights defense force, and to transform the ACLU into an organization with clout at the ballot box.

"We enacted a sanctuary-city law in Phoenix...as a result of People Power activism!" Romero exclaimed in a phone interview earlier this year. (It was a slight exaggeration; the victory, though an improvement, was not a full-blown embrace of sanctuary policies. But in the age of Donald Trump and Jeff Sessions, of mass deportations and border walls, who could fault Romero's enthusiasm?) "We never would have accomplished that entirely on our own," he continued. "If there is one thing I will give Donald Trump credit for, he has given birth to what may be a golden age of citizen activism the likes of which I haven't seen in my adult life, where ordinary folks turn out in record numbers. In 20 or 30 years, this organization could have the type of citizen activism that we usually associate with groups like the NRA or AARP."

"If there is one thing I will give Donald Trump credit for, he has given birth to what may be a golden age of citizen activism."
—Anthony Romero

PEOPLE POWER EMERGED OUT OF THE ACLU'S sudden, explosive growth in the wake of Trump's election. In Arizona, statewide membership jumped from 5,500 to more than 22,000; nationwide, it soared from 450,000 to 1.84 million. Followers on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram quadrupled. Donations skyrocketed, from less than $5 million annually in online contributions in recent years to $86 million in the year after the 2016 elections. Meanwhile, the ACLU went on a hiring spree—116 new positions at national offices around the country. Many new staffers are supporting People Power, which now has 250,000 members in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

In its first year, People Power has focused its efforts on voting rights and immigration issues, with activists from across the country gathering signatures, knocking on doors, and meeting with officials. The state with the most members per capita is Oregon, with 7,759 volunteers. In Arizona, there are 4,709 members, who have proved to be especially motivated, several said, because people in the state have been living amid Trump-like conditions for years—since long before January 20, 2017.

In Phoenix, some 20 or so core members have had especially yeasty results. The group first came together in March 2017, and its members quickly focused their newly awakened activist energy on the sanctuary-city effort. This was a savvy choice: With established groups like Puente, Chicanos por la Causa, and LUCHA (Living United for Change in Arizona) already on the case, the People Power novices had a ready place to plug in; but the move also fit perfectly within People Power's larger "Freedom Cities" initiative, which the group launched to "defend immigrants from Trump's mass deportation agenda."

As a first step, People Power members wanted to meet with Phoenix Police Chief Jeri Williams about Opera-

Into the streets: Activists with the ACLU of Oregon rally on the steps of the State Capitol in 2017.

SIPA VIA AP IMAGES / ALEX MILAN TRACY

tions Order 4.48, the police department's immigration-enforcement guidelines. The order had been made significantly harsher in the wake of Arizona Senate Bill 1070, also known as the "Show me your papers" bill, which was passed in 2010 and placed a big red target on the state's undocumented immigrants. But People Power's repeated requests were turned down. So two members—RaeAnne Marsh, the magazine editor, and Orien Nelson, a private attorney—suggested forming a research team to make a presentation to the city manager, effectively going over Williams's head. The group also lobbied council members in conjunction with established groups.

A big concern was the Order 4.48 guidelines that officers used to determine if there was "reasonable suspicion for questioning a person about their immigration status," said Ben Clark, 37, a professional-development specialist at a Phoenix high school. "Several of these guidelines were examples of blatant racial profiling," such as "significant difficulty speaking English." People Power's goal was to show that the policy was not only racist, but also illegal.

The group's strategy worked. On June 1, 2017, People Power members met with City Manager Ed Zuercher and his colleague Dohoney, who wrote the complimentary e-mail. One week later, on June 8, People Power got its meeting with the police chief. "When we met with [Chief] Williams," said Marsh, 69, "she wanted to pigeonhole our group." But, Marsh continued, "we were all ages. All backgrounds. She didn't know what to make of us. There's power in our diversity... young, old, white, Latino, black."

A month later, the city adopted new policies under which the police would no longer rush to do the job of Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Not everyone was pleased. If enemies are a measure of success, Phoenix People Power has done well. Judicial Watch, the conservative watchdog group, filed a public-records request "to uncover the steps that led to the change." The headline of its blog post: "Phoenix Becomes Illegal Alien Sanctuary after Leftist Group Orders it in Private Meeting with Police Chief."

Fresh blood: Faiz Shakir, national political director of the ACLU.

WHEN ANTHONY ROMERO BECAME THE ACLU's executive director in 2001, just a week before 9/11, he envisioned moving the organization away from "checkbook participants," who donated money but were not active, to "bring[ing] the ACLU back to the bosom of the American people." Some modernization efforts were undertaken: a first-ever national member conference and a beefed-up Web presence, among other things.

"But all of those efforts were rather anemic, to be totally candid with you," Romero admitted. "We finally got into the middle of the pack by doing what everyone else had been doing for years." Romero wanted more citizen involvement—so, in 2015, he hired a headhunting firm to search for a national political director.

Faiz Shakir, then a staffer for US Senate minority leader Harry Reid, interviewed for the job. "I argued for the ACLU being much more of a grassroots organization than it was in the past—and using the membership to be political agitators," Shakir, now 38, recalled of that interview.

"In 20 or 30 years, this organization could have the type of citizen activism that we usually associate with groups like the NRA or AARP."

—Anthony Romero

"He was very energetic," Romero said. But, he added, "I thought I needed someone with more experience, more chops." Besides, Romero wasn't ready to embrace a vision as radical as the one Shakir had proposed—a vast organizing effort that would require a big rollout, as opposed to some safer and more sensible plan that could be cautiously beta-tested in a handful of states. Shakir didn't get the job.

Then came Trump. Romero picked up the phone.

"I went back to Faiz and said, 'OK, now is the time for the fresh blood, the new perspective,'" Romero recalled. "'Shame on us if we cannot find substantive things for people to do in a civil-liberties crisis.'"

Shakir, who before working for Reid had been vice president of the Center for American Progress, a progressive think tank, jumped into the job early last year. He said it had become "pretty obvious that when we didn't have the presidency or Congress or state legislatures or governorships, your power was going to be with the people."

He began by rolling out exactly what he'd pitched to Romero: a bold 50-state plan for what he called "People Power." The ACLU e-mailed members to organize a nationwide "resistance training" that would be livestreamed from Miami on March 11, 2017. More than 200,000 people watched this webinar in more than 2,200 homes and in public spaces all over America.

"We've opened the doors to the church, and now come in, let's do this together," Romero told the audience. "We'll do the work in the courts. You do the work in the streets."

What this has amounted to in practice is that the ACLU has provided activists with blueprints for two campaigns: "Freedom Cities" as well as its more recent "Let People Vote" campaign, which centers on fighting gerrymandering and voter-suppression laws. And it has encouraged activists to make these campaigns their own. While the national office offers significant guidance, the movement is meant to be flexible, even a bit messy.

"This roadmap is meant to get people started, but the movement is yours," the ACLU posted on its site after the event. "The United States has always been, and remains, what we make it."

SHAKIR IS EVANGELICAL ABOUT CREATING A POWERful citizen-driven movement. "We're investing in the long-haul effort to change hearts and minds," he said over lunch at Bobby Van's Steakhouse, in the morning shadow of the New York Stock Exchange. "I have absolutely no idea what will happen. Some people worry. I get excited."

Shakir's suit fit the crowd: In both appearance and power-lunch venue choice, he seemed like the consummate Beltway insider. But he's not one of them, said Becky Bond, a senior adviser for Bernie Sanders's 2016

presidential campaign and an architect of its grassroots volunteer effort, who now consults for the ACLU on organizing strategies. "He was an incredibly powerful behind-the-scenes player, who clearly was always willing to do the right thing when it was hard," she said. "I think Faiz is playing the short game in a strong way, and everything is adding up to a brilliant long game. He's effectively leveraging a movement to resist Trump, but he's doing it in a way that builds out long-term infrastructure to prevent the next Trump."

Still, there's a long history of failed hopes in the fight for progressive change. Movements like Occupy have blazed into being, only to fizzle. There are several reasons for this, said Marshall Ganz, who began organizing in Mississippi for the civil-rights movement in 1964 and went on to work with Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers of America. (Ganz currently teaches at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.)

"Since the '70s, it's been moving more and more toward mobilizing and away from organizing," Ganz explained. The decline began with direct mail, "and the digital stuff has really accelerated that." What's been missing, Ganz asserted, is local organizing. "So they wind up just being these moments, but they don't really turn into *movements* because of a lack of organizational capacity. Occupy struggled with structural challenges. Social movements often react to the experience with structures that they're resisting as oppressive. And so they go to the opposite of that: no structure. Then you wind up in what Jo Freeman calls the 'tyranny of structurelessness.'"

Ganz was the architect of Barack Obama's grassroots effort starting in 2007. "We built an organization of a million and a half people," he said. "Then Obama pissed it away"—proof to him that electoral campaigns are a waste of time when it comes to creating a base for progressive politics. The grassroots movement Indivisible emerged after the 2016 election, but "their challenge has been, like Gandhi once said, 'There goes my people—I must catch up with them.' In other words, all of a sudden there were 6,000 local groups, and they needed to figure out how to train them, how to give support, how to make the most of it."

The ACLU has the infrastructure in place to support People Power members, which sets it apart, Ganz continued. "I think their challenge is to move beyond just being an electronic list to effectively organize local and state groups so that they can begin to wield more power. The impression I have is that it's begun to happen." The ACLU has local chapters already in place, as well as funding for a long-haul effort, Ganz said. "The power of the NRA is that they've got 15,000 of these groups that are not going away. They do their rifle practice and all that, and then they become [the NRA's] political base. The ACLU could have that kind of potential. They changed their motto to 'We the People.' That's a pretty significant reframing. If you think of yourself as 'We the lawyers who are defending rights' versus 'We the people who are fighting for our rights'—that's a very different idea."

The evolving ACLU: Clarence Darrow questions William Jennings Bryan during the Scopes monkey trial in 1925.

"I think their challenge is to move beyond just being an electronic list to effectively organize local and state groups."
—Marshall Ganz

Dale Maharidge, a journalism professor at Columbia University, was a newspaperman for 15 years. He is the author of 10 books, including And Their Children After Them, *for which he won the Pulitzer Prize.*

People Power echoes the ACLU's activist roots. Although it became known over the decades as the domain of Ivy League–educated First Amendment defenders, the ACLU started as "an adjunct of the radical labor movement," as Laura Weinrib, a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, writes in her book *The Taming of Free Speech: America's Civil Liberties Compromise*. In this early activist cosmology, free speech was a "tool of social justice"—a means to an end, not the end itself, as it became in later years.

The ACLU was created on January 19, 1920. It emerged out of the first Red Scare, when A. Mitchell Palmer, the US attorney general under President Woodrow Wilson, spearheaded a crackdown on radicals who, he believed, were conspiring to foment their own Bolshevik-style revolution. Palmer formed the General Intelligence Division, putting a young J. Edgar Hoover in charge. The unit went after union organizers, "reds," anarchists, and immigrants. These so-called "Palmer raids" swept up thousands of people, many without warrants; scores were brutalized, detained, and ultimately deported. Card files were created for 450,000 Americans deemed dangerous.

In the face of these assaults on basic liberties, a small cadre of progressive-minded thinkers and activists, including Roger Nash Baldwin, Crystal Eastman, Albert DeSilver, and others, joined forces to create a new legal corps dedicated to defending "labor's rights to organize, picket, and strike," as Weinrib writes elsewhere. Baldwin, a charismatic radical and a conscientious objector who opposed US entry into World War I, became the ACLU's first executive director. Significantly, Baldwin himself was not a lawyer—a reflection, perhaps, of the early ACLU's deference to direct action (and skepticism, in some quarters, toward the very courts to which it was appealing).

An early test of the ACLU's activist model occurred on March 23, 1920, in Passaic, New Jersey, against a police edict that forbade meetings of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. Some 300 union members listened as Norman Thomas, the famed perennial socialist candidate for president, read the New Jersey State Con-

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION ARCHIVES / WATSON DAVIS

Crackdown: Police respond to anti-Trump protests in Phoenix with tear gas, August 2017.

stitution. The police ordered the meeting shut down, but Thomas kept talking. The officers then told the owner of the hall to extinguish the lights, so candles were procured. When union organizer Frank Lateviec took a turn reading in Polish, a cop yanked him off the platform. (It was illegal in Passaic to give an address in a foreign language.) That was when "[t]he attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union, paper and pencil in hand, eagerly demanded the bluecoat's name and number," wrote Lewis S. Gannett, days later, in *The Nation*. "The lawyers announced that Lateviec would institute [a] civil suit for assault to test the police right to interfere."

Challenges of this nature continued, with the ACLU taking an active part in the union strikes by coal- and steelworkers in the 1920s and '30s. By the late 1930s, however, the organization had drifted away from its social-justice mission as well as its movement roots, ultimately earning the enmity of labor. In 1940, it excluded Communists from holding leadership positions, causing a rift, and, in the ensuing years, championed a rigid (albeit liberal) anticommunism. As the years progressed, the organization became the domain of litigators.

"The ACLU is coming back to its origins. ACLU supporters have always wanted to get involved in the work."
—Sandra Castro Solis

JAMIE BONNELL IS TYPICAL OF THE WAY THAT MEMbers came to People Power in Phoenix. A week after Trump's victory, she went online and sent $100 to the ACLU. "It was my first time donating to the organization, and it was a significant portion of my budget," said Bonnell, 32, who makes ends meet with a mix of part-time jobs—as an adjunct English professor at Mesa Community College, an instructor and chair of the writing department at the Phoenix Center for the Arts, and investigator at a legal firm, among other things. Then she forgot about the $100; her energy went into meeting a friend each Wednesday at a local diner, where they wrote as many as 50 postcards to legislators per sitting, hoping to influence votes. Bonnell wanted to be more engaged but didn't know how. Then an e-mail came from the ACLU. Would she be willing to host a "resistance training"? She quickly thought: "No."

Her reticence?

"I felt in need of guidance and leadership," Bonnell said. How could she mentor strangers when she needed help herself? Besides, she reasoned, her house was too small—550 square feet, hardly big enough for a meeting.

At the beginning: Roger Nash Baldwin, co-founder and first executive director of the ACLU.

"Then, within an hour or two, someone volunteering for the ACLU sent me a text with the same ask," Bonnell said. "It was smart of the ACLU to double their push. The second message forced me to question my initial hesitation. I figured if I had the will/stubbornness to keep doing the small-scale letter-writing thing, I ought to give whatever I had."

On March 11, 2017, 23 people showed up at her door to take part in the resistance-training webinar being broadcast from Miami. Bonnell squeezed everyone in by using floor pillows "and a bevy of borrowed folding chairs from family and neighbors."

SOME NINE MONTHS LATER, IN DECEMBER, Bonnell was seated in the Coronado PHX, a cafe and gathering spot for progressive activists, with six other members of the Phoenix People Power team who were interested in police issues. Each was putting in from five to 15 hours of volunteer work a week. Most had never been politically active before this; they said they wanted to do something more consequential, as opposed to just showing up at protests. When I asked if any of them had known the others before attending the webinar, the resounding answer was no.

"Now I spend more time with these folks than I do my own family," said Ben Clark, the high-school educator, who has two children under the age of 7. Heads nodded.

Jennifer Linzy, 33, an operations assistant at two music venues in Phoenix, recalled her grandmother often talking about the hard economic and political times of the 1930s. "My grandmother said, 'You get five minutes to cry. Then you get up and do something about it,'" Linzy said. "They just took things into their own hands back then. We have to do the same today."

On this particular evening, the group was talking with Sandra Castro Solis, organizing director for the ACLU of Arizona. Most of the seven were hunched over notebooks or smartphones filled with tasks—meeting dates with politicians; calls to second- and third-tier (i.e., less active) members; voluminous files from a police-abuse case that had been obtained with a Freedom of Information Act request and needed to be read; and so on.

"We've been fighting defense for too long," Clark said.

"It seems impossible to do things at the federal level," Bonnell chimed in. "But not at the local level."

Now those at the table were working to create a civilian police-review board—a push spurred, in part, by the police crackdown on peaceful protesters during Trump's visit to Phoenix last August. Despite using tear gas and flash-bang grenades on the crowd, the police admitted no wrongdoing. So People Power put out a call for citizen videos of the melee, while ACLU lawyers simultaneously demanded that police turn over body-camera and surveillance footage. After scouring some 1,000 hours of video from the cops, the organization found many instances that suggested the attack was premeditated.

"The Phoenix Police Department is accountable to no one," said Orien Nelson, the attorney who helped helm the group's sanctuary-city push earlier in the year. Along with the rest of the group, she's now wading into the up-

coming City Council races in the hope of electing candidates who are sympathetic to the idea of a review board.

"We want to make the council election a referendum on the police," Nelson said.

As for Solis, she wants to develop organizers, not just protesters, out of these fights. "I don't want activists," she said. "I was taught when I got into organizing that activists are like a light switch: turn on and off. You show up to a protest—OK, you did your thing, now you're going home and you're not going to show up till the next protest. Organizers are always working to empower folks. The ACLU is coming back home to its origins. ACLU supporters have always wanted to get involved in the work."

Solis, a co-founder of Puente, the immigrant-justice organization, is adjusting to the ACLU's culture. She said her previous jobs were always "now, now, now." With ACLU lawyers, it's "slow, slow, slow." But she understands that things like filing FOIA requests take time, and that the knowledge gained makes the organization's actions more powerful.

"Here, it's like I'm a kid in a candy store," she said, referring to the ACLU and its vast resources. "I have people that want to volunteer. I have an attorney. I have a policy and communications team. I don't have to do this all by myself. Of course we're going to make things happen."

People Power is active in all 50 states, and it's finding success in a number of them. As in Phoenix, the group helped change police policy in Ann Arbor, Michigan, so that officers don't target undocumented immigrants and then help ICE deport them. In Wisconsin, members are pushing the State Legislature to pass a bill that would require redistricting to be taken out of the hands of politicians and given to a nonpartisan entity instead. At the Georgia ACLU, executive director Andrea Young is stoked about the ground commitment to the "Let People Vote" campaign. "The People Power strategy is reengaging people," she said of the group, which is going to focus on redistricting.

The story is similar in Colorado, where the group has hired a voting-rights campaign coordinator. "The focus of her position is taking all the energy in People Power and mobilizing it towards legislation in the upcoming session to expand voting rights," explained John Krieger, spokesman for the ACLU of Colorado.

In Phoenix, two core groups have formed: One is working on police and immigration issues, while the other is focused on streamlining the cumbersome process of restoring the voting rights of people convicted of felonies. These volunteers are powerful "because they have a different idea of what's possible," said Becky Bond, the organizing strategist. "They often can see this more clearly than those of us who've worked in politics for a whole career."

Shakir understood this when he put out a nationwide call for People Power members to meet with police during the resistance training. Lawyer colleagues scoffed: Why bother? The cops would ignore them. Shakir explained that many volunteers will "generally give the police department the benefit of the doubt." They needed to learn firsthand how bad some departments are. "Remember, you've had years of experience with this," he recalled saying. "But these guys, we need to bring them along."

It was that ask from Shakir that initiated the efforts by Phoenix People Power members to speak with the police chief about her department's interaction with undocumented immigrants. Members also phoned and e-mailed lower-level precinct commanders to set up meetings. Nothing happened. Nelson said she had previously thought this was "something that a citizen should be able to do fairly easily." The police reticence baffled her.

Using volunteers is a big cultural shift for the ACLU. "Initially, I think many people didn't fully understand how it would strengthen the ACLU," Shakir said of the attitude of longtime staffers. "That has changed radically—I think almost everyone across the board sees the value of it."

In Phoenix, all the staffers I spoke with, including executive director Alessandra Soler and legal director Kathy Brody, insisted there isn't any tension between the ACLU's staff attorneys and the new organizers. "It's really cool for me to be working with organizers," Brody said. "I can't do everything in the courts. I do think it's sort of like greater than the sum of its parts."

Is the ACLU a vehicle for progressive change, or is it a defender of constitutional principles?

Yet the transition hasn't been entirely without its bumps. While the reborn ACLU has managed to avoid serious internal rifts between its new activist flank and its legal old guard, the same cannot be said for the group and its broader base. The most notable eruption took place last summer, when a grub pit of far-right extremists descended on Charlottesville, Virginia, with guns, tiki torches, and weaponized automobiles. As it had done in the past—most famously in Skokie, Illinois, in 1978—the ACLU came to the white supremacists' legal defense, arguing in court that they had a First Amendment right to protest in the heart of the city. But after the protest exploded in violence—and 32-year-old Heather Heyer was killed—the newly revved-up resistance wasn't standing for it. "The ACLU Has Blood on Its Hands in Charlottesville" ran one outraged headline.

Within several days, the ACLU had moved to cauterize the wound by announcing that it would no longer represent white supremacists wishing to protest with firearms. But the episode flagged a fundamental tension, one that has been present in shifting proportions since the organization's earliest days but has recently flared back into focus: Is the ACLU a vehicle for progressive change, or is it a defender of constitutional principles? And if the answer is "both," how does it balance these two commitments?

Power table: People Power volunteers promote the ACLU's work at the Phoenix Women's March, January 2018.

ACLU OF ARIZONA / SANDRA CASTRO SOLIS

Shakir acknowledges that this tension "can feel a little bit muddled. That nuance is not always easy to understand." For his part, Romero views People Power as a bridge to understanding the ACLU's absolutism about fighting for the free-speech rights of everyone. "I think People Power allows us to have a deeper rapport with our constituents," Romero said. "It provides us an opportunity to talk to our base about what we do and how we do it and why we do it. We never had that kind of portal before." ■

Though they often remained unknown or underappreciated, African-American women helped to construct the cultural architecture for change.

LIGHTING THE FIRES OF FREEDOM

by JANET DEWART BELL

DURING THE CIVIL-RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AFRICAN AMERICANS led the fight to free this country from the vestiges of slavery and Jim Crow. Though they all too often were—and remain—invisible to the public, African-American women played significant roles at all levels of the movement. Some led causes and organizations, such as Dorothy Height, the president of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and the National Council of Negro Women. Others did not have titles or official roles, including Georgia Gilmore, one of the cooks who organized to raise money to support the Montgomery bus boycott. These women didn't stand on ceremony; they simply did the work that needed to be done, without expectation of personal gain. Often unnamed or underappreciated, African-American women helped to construct the cultural architecture for change.

African-American women leaders and activists addressed the most important and volatile issues of the times—segregation, lynching, education, and economic justice. Even before the civil-rights movement began, the crusading anti-lynching journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett tried to protect black women from sexual violence and the antebellum (and later Jim Crow) tradition that allowed white men to abuse and rape black women at will and without punishment. Rosa Parks, whose courageous refusal to surrender her seat to a white man sparked the Montgomery bus boycott, followed in Wells-Barnett's footsteps.

In *Lighting the Fires of Freedom: African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement*, I spoke with nine women who were active at a range of levels in the movement about what ignited and fueled their activism, and I published their stories in their own words—with all their cadences, colloquialisms, and lyricism intact. These are real people, sharing real lives; some are now in their 90s, and have decades of untold stories to share. These women recognized and analyzed the role of race in American society and set out to make a difference. They did not seek fame or fortune; they sought a more just world for themselves and their families.

A safe haven: Leah Chase provided meals and meeting spaces for civil-rights activists at her restaurant in New Orleans.

People who lived and worked in the heat of the civil-rights cauldron were the heart and soul of the movement. Their heroic actions often put themselves and their families in harm's way. Myrlie Evers, the widow of Medgar Evers, the NAACP's first Mississippi field officer, and a leader in her own right, always knew the dangers that she and her husband faced, but they persisted nevertheless. The young people of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, exemplified by Judy Richardson, who left Swarthmore College and forfeited her scholarship to join the SNCC staff, held voter-registration drives and organized other social-justice projects in hostile environments throughout the South. People who raised funds or provided housing and food to civil-rights workers put their own lives and livelihoods in jeopardy. Isolated and vulnerable sharecropper families in the rural South participated in the movement in this way.

Black women have fought for worlds where others might have the opportunities that they themselves never enjoyed.

Pressing their case: Diane Nash, right, represented the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at the White House in 1963.

Restaurant owner Leah Chase, in defiance of Louisiana's Jim Crow laws, provided more than food to civil-rights workers; she provided a safe haven for them to conduct meetings and make plans. Some other participants' contributions were not as dramatic or fraught with danger, but they were still necessary to the freedom struggle. Dr. June Jackson Christmas recounted how she and her husband, Walter, opened up their home in New York City to provide respite for civil-rights workers from the South; she also provided counseling and fund-raising support.

With little money, no standing, and the law itself against them, African-American women had to be creative, resourceful, and able to adapt. Eschewing top-down leadership, they encouraged people to develop their own approaches—espousing what we now identify as the ethical foundation and visionary approach of transformational leadership, which built on mutual respect, creative problem-solving, and an understanding of the need for systemic change. Nashville student leader Diane Nash's insistence on reliability and consistency helped to foster an environment of trust so that people could focus on solutions as well as logistical details. Richardson understood the vital significance of running the SNCC telephone service—literally a lifeline for activists who might be in physical danger. As servant leaders, African-American women were rooted in their desire to serve communities rather than gain power for themselves. But they were not servile. Courageous and determined, these women accepted the uncertain and dangerous consequences of their leadership. Myrlie Evers lived with the threat of bombing and assassination. Nash recalls that several Freedom Riders gave her sealed envelopes to be mailed in the event of their deaths. Kathleen Cleaver, who was the first woman to serve on the central committee of the Black Panther Party, was targeted by the FBI. Richardson and the SNCC were constantly under attack and threat of attack. And these women's leadership was shaped by compassion, such as that of Mamie Till Mobley, the mother of slain teenager Emmett Till, who expressed sympathy and love for the children of those who killed her son. She spoke eloquently about the value of forgiveness, redemption, and peace. Mobley's decision to display the mutilated body of her son was bold and powerful, exhibiting moral authority and grace. Whether they were sharecroppers like Fannie Lou Hamer or professionals like Jo Ann Robinson, a professor, black women have

ABOVE: LEAH CHASE, COURTESY OF THE NEW PRESS; RIGHT: AP PHOTO / HENRY BURROUGHS

dreamed of worlds where others might have the opportunities that they themselves never enjoyed.

In the 1993 article "The Bone and Sinew of the Race," sociologist Carole Marks wrote of the "heroic sacrifice" of black female household workers. My mother was one of these women. Intelligent, talented, and beautiful, she spent much of her life working as a maid in households or motels. Her migration in the mid-1940s to Erie, Pennsylvania, where I was born in 1946, had taken a circuitous path from a small town in Arkansas. Her formal education was cut short because the closest high school that blacks could attend was in Little Rock, 100 miles away. Outside of her work life, my mother—like many other black women of her era—was an elegant, refined person of great vision who was viewed as a leader in the community. She was active in helping neighbors in need, and she was active in our schools—which our family essentially integrated. To support my activities in the movement, she bought me a car that was better than any she had ever owned, taking on additional work to pay for that extraordinary gift.

The women leaders of the civil-rights movement knew that their individual successes did not separate them from the shared fate of the black community; that no matter how good they were, American society did not view them as the equals of whites. Their stories speak to their persistent and courageous fight for freedom. Myrlie Evers's is one such story.

African-American women were rooted in their desire to serve communities rather than gain power for themselves. But they were not servile.

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BORN IN VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, IN 1933, Myrlie Beasley was raised by her aunt and grandmother. When she was 17 and a student at Alcorn A&M College in Lorman, Mississippi, she met her future husband, Medgar Evers. They married when she was 18.

When Medgar was appointed the first NAACP field secretary in the state of Mississippi in 1954, he negotiated a paid position for Myrlie as the office's secretary. Together, they basically *were* the office, working as partners in the fight to end segregation and to improve the lot of black people. Medgar did the outside work of community organizing: rallies, speeches, voter registration, and the investigation of racial incidents. In addition to all the typical inside work of the office—typing correspondence and maintaining records—Myrlie did research, helped write speeches, and organized events, from celebrations to memorials. She organized the visits of civil-rights leaders and other dignitaries, often feeding and hosting them in the Everses' modest home. It is important to remember that this was a perilous time; what might seem like mundane work had special meaning and was fraught with danger. The Everses' home was firebombed in May 1963. One month later, Medgar was assassinated in their driveway. Widowed with three small children, Myrlie stayed in the house for a year; the driveway remained a daily reminder of her husband's death. In the summer of 1964, she addressed the NAACP convention at a time when the civil-rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner were missing and not yet discovered murdered.

She later moved to California. At the age of 31, she went back to school, working part-time, and graduated from Pomona College in 1968 with a degree in sociology. Myrlie vigilantly pursued justice for the murder of her husband, a three-decade commitment that ended when the killer, Byron De La Beckwith, was convicted in 1994.

I interviewed Myrlie Evers in Jackson, Mississippi, in the fall of 2013. She remains beautiful, gracious, grateful, and propelled by an invisible life force—a mixture of compassion, curiosity, and righteous anger. Her candor and openness might shock someone expecting a martyr or a saint. She is, defiantly, a whole person—and for African Americans, preserving personhood is itself an accomplishment. These are her words:

AP PHOTO / JIM BOURDIER

"I was very fortunate to be surrounded by people who loved me dearly. My grandmother and my aunt told me I could accomplish anything that I set my mind to do, as long as I stayed within the boundaries of what society had set for me.

"Medgar came along and said, 'You can do whatever you want to do, but keep those boundaries out of the way. You never stop dreaming for something higher and better.'

"Medgar was a veteran of World War II, as was my father. When Medgar returned to Mississippi, he decided to confront the rampant prejudice and racism. I came along and learned as we moved forward in the work—in the Mississippi Delta, and then later in Jackson, Mississippi.

"Medgar and I moved to the Mississippi Delta, a town called Mound Bayou—formed by former slaves.

"Medgar was [one of the] first known African Americans to apply for admission to the University of Mississippi, Ole Miss law school. He went to visit with Dr. E.J. Stringer, president of the Mississippi NAACP, to talk about the NAACP supporting him in a suit for admittance. Instead, they talked him into taking the position as the first field secretary for the NAACP in Mississippi and opening an office in Jackson. A very, very interesting time. It was not only typing, organizing events or celebrations, or even the sad things to acknowledge: people who had been hurt, who had been killed. I did research for his speeches. I even wrote some of them.

"We were behind the 'cotton curtain'—you could not get information out to the wire services that you could in any other part of the country. It meant being concise with what you reported and sending that information to the NAACP office in New York City, and you did it by telegram.

"I was a welcoming committee to people who came in. Everyone visited. Our house was so small, but we always found a place. I think of Thurgood Marshall, Constance Baker Motley. Attorney Derrick Bell. What a terrible time I had trying to balance a budget of $25 every two weeks feeding and housing people, but it was our home. Many of us bonded. There are a few of us still around. We have been there.

"It was an exciting but frightening time. You stared at death every day, and you walked and death walked along with you. But there was always hope, and there were always people who surrounded you to give you a sense of purpose.

"You try to prepare. You do a little role-playing. I personally would put myself in a position mentally where I had just lost my husband.

"I knew it was coming. I recall a conversation with Medgar not too long before his assassination. I said to him, 'I can't live without you. I can't make it without you.' And he looked at me and said, 'You're much stronger than you think you are. You will be OK. You must believe it.'

"You stared at death every day; you walked and death walked along with you. But there were always people who surrounded you to give you a sense of purpose."

—Myrlie Evers

"Today when I visit my former home, I can still see the blood. We needed to get away from that place. Our oldest son, Darrell Kenyatta, reached a point where he refused to eat, he would not study, he would not talk. My daughter would go to bed with her dad's picture, holding it every night. The youngest one, Van, who was 3, would go to bed with this little rifle. I knew that we could no longer live in that house.

"[I was] a woman who was lonely and afraid, but one who was determined to make it. Everything that I did was based on what I thought Medgar would have wanted, and the promises that I made to him the night before he was killed. My grandmother said to me, 'You run as far away from Mississippi as you could get without going into the ocean.' California became home, and until this day it still is."

The women in *Lighting the Fires of Freedom* represent many others. They answered the call for freedom with commitment and passion. They were principled and steadfast, displaying an unwavering sense of decency, common sense, and courage. They lit the fires and showed the way.

All of these women continued to be active in social-justice movements and activities after the height of the civil-rights movement. Their stories serve as inspiration, motivation, and instruction for the work that must still be done to make real the ideals of our nation. ■

A life of activism: Myrlie Evers in 2014. She and her husband, Medgar Evers, set up the NAACP's first Mississippi field office.

Janet Dewart Bell is a social-justice activist with a doctorate in leadership and change from Antioch University. An award-winning television and radio producer, she founded the Derrick Bell Lecture on Race in American Society series at the New York University School of Law.

Victor Pickard
May 21 at 9:23am

Breaking Facebook's Grip

To renew journalism, we must take back the Internet from monopoli

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FACEBOOK'S SUDDEN FALL FROM GRACE HAS TOPPLED LONG-HELD ASSUMPTIONS that it couldn't be regulated. Now a rare bipartisan consensus has emerged that Facebook's unaccountable power may require government intervention.

The recent Cambridge Analytica scandal helped kick-start an overdue conversation about monopoly power, its pernicious effects on society, and the government's role in stopping it. It's a precious opportunity for structural reform that has implications far beyond Facebook.

How can we seize it? Mark Zuckerberg himself has acknowledged that regulation might be necessary. But what kind of regulation? Do we repeat past mistakes and settle for a kind of weak self-regulation that will fade over time? Or do we subject Facebook to real public oversight and implement redistributive measures?

Thus far, the discussions have focused mainly on user privacy, which is vitally important. But we should also consider a broader, bolder vision that includes what Facebook owes society in return for the incredible power we've allowed it to amass—even as we contain and erode that power. It's time for a new social contract.

This contract must assert public control over communications systems. It should protect content creators and individual users (i.e., those who actually provide the labor, attention, and data from which Facebook generates its wealth). But most important, it must privilege society's needs over Facebook's primary objective: maximizing profit.

Make Facebook Pay for Journalism

OVER THE PAST YEAR, FACEBOOK HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF MISHANDLING users' data, abusing market power, and propagating misinformation—all while extracting profound wealth across the globe. Facebook should provide much more in exchange for its tremendous profits and assume greater responsibility for its costs to society.

Journalism's dependence on advertising revenue has always made it vulnerable. Now, with Facebook and Google hogging digital ad dollars, the commercial model has collapsed—with devastating results. Less revenue means fewer journalists, leaving newsrooms across the country gutted or shuttered. The newspaper industry has seen its workforce reduced by approximately 50 percent over the past 15 years. Major social problems and entire regions now go uncovered. Despite talk of a "post-newspaper future," these institutions still provide most of the original reporting for the entire news-media system.

While various factors have contributed to commercial journalism's decline, it's tragically ironic that Facebook and Google are starving the very institutions expected to fact-check against disinformation. To help offset this damage, these companies should fund public-service media such as local news, investigative journalism, and policy reporting—coverage that doesn't always yield clicks but that democracy requires.

Google has pledged $300 million over three years (per yearly average, less than 0.1 percent of the 2017 revenue of its parent company, Alphabet) for its recently launched News Initiative to combat misinformation and help media outlets monetize news content. Facebook has launched a $3 million journalism "accelerator" (about 0.007 percent of its 2017 revenues) to help 10 to 15 news organizations build their digital subscriptions using Facebook's platform. These efforts are woefully insufficient. Current losses demand direct support for the journalism that Google and Facebook are sucking dry.

These two intertwined problems—unaccountable monopoly power and the loss of public-service journalism—could be addressed through policy interventions that rein in Facebook and redistribute revenue as part of a new regulatory system designed to address the digital giants' negative impacts on society. These companies

See More...

LEFT: AP PHOTO / CAROLYN KASTER

We should consider a broader, bolder vision for what Facebook owes society in return for the incredible power we've allowed it to accumulate.... It's time for a new social contract.

should help fund the news media they simultaneously profit from and eviscerate.

An idea that's beginning to circulate here and abroad is a public-media tax on Facebook's and Google/Alphabet's earnings that would generate resources for a journalism trust fund. One percent of their 2017 net income, which these companies could certainly afford, would yield $159.34 million from Facebook and $126.62 million from Alphabet—a combined $285.96 million. This money could seed an endowment for independent journalism, especially if combined with other philanthropic contributions from foundations and other benefactors.

Shielded from powerful interests, this trust would remain insulated from government influence. A well-resourced national—and, ultimately, international—journalism fund could help guarantee far-reaching access to quality news. It also could help support an alternative public network (noncommercial and nonprofit) to compete with—and perhaps eventually replace—Facebook.

Regulating Facebook

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR JOURNALISM IS JUST ONE potential benefit of bringing the digital monopolies under more public control. Beyond safeguarding users' privacy, progressive regulations might include mandating data portability; banning advertising from dark-money groups; and enforcing radical transparency and public oversight of algorithms and data collection—perhaps even establishing a social-media regulatory agency.

Facebook's dominance doesn't stem from magical technology but from policy failures such as lax enforcement of antitrust laws.

Regulating Facebook will require a toolbox of policy instruments. Recent reforms have included an exception to the Communications Decency Act's Section 230, which shields websites from legal liability for third-party content, and Facebook's agreeing to cooperate with researchers. But any regulatory arrangement mustn't simply consolidate Facebook's power. An antitrust investigation should explore how Facebook exploits its control over data to dominate the advertising market. And redistributing Facebook's profits shouldn't preclude anti-monopoly measures like forcing its divestment from WhatsApp, Messenger, and Instagram as well as preventing future acquisitions.

Historical precedent and mainstream economics justify aggressive regulation of monopolies, especially networks like communications systems. Instead of breaking up such companies—which, along with nationalizing them, should never be off the table—incentives and penalties can prevent them from exploiting their market dominance and engaging in profit-seeking behavior that's detrimental to society. Facebook has thus far managed to escape such constraints.

Reframing the Debate

INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS AND CONSUMER RIGHTS TOO often define American policy discourse. A more social-democratic paradigm expands this impoverished vision to see news as a public good that shouldn't be left to the commercial imperatives of unregulated monopolies.

Less in thrall to market fundamentalism, the Europeans are ahead of the United States in confronting Silicon Valley. Beyond the already imposed fines and proposed taxes on Facebook and Google, the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation ensures that Internet users in the 28 EU nations understand and consent to how their data is being collected, and allows them to move it elsewhere. The GDPR also guarantees a "right to be forgotten" so that EU citizens can remove personal information from the Internet.

In the United States, a #DeleteFacebook movement has emerged, along with calls to create alternative social-media networks. But these efforts, while commendable, are unlikely to spur institutional change, at least in the near term. Many of Facebook's nearly 2.2 billion users need the platform for basic communication. As Facebook's expansion continues, we should direct collective action toward policy interventions.

Facebook's dominance doesn't stem from the market's genius or the magic of technology, but from policy failures such as the lax enforcement of antitrust laws. Too many were seduced by the tech industry's "move fast and break things" ethos. Too many stood silent when told that the Internet didn't require regulation, that it was inherently democratic, and that benevolent corporations were its best guardians. Policy decisions and indecisions have consequences, and we now reap what was sown.

But it isn't too late to fix things. Algorithms are human-made—as was demonstrated recently when Facebook adjusted its algorithms to privilege posts from family and friends over those from news publishers. Facebook isn't some kind of Frankenstein monster beyond social control. Humans can and must intervene. Facebook can afford to hire legions of screeners, editors, and technologists to prevent the spread of disinformation and ensure ethical practices.

Ultimately, however, this isn't just Facebook's problem to solve. Governance over communications infrastructure is a political issue. We must determine Facebook's obligations and how they're enforced—while preventing government overreach and ensuring democratic, participatory input. International advocacy groups and watchdog institutions should keep monitoring Facebook and demanding accountability. But structural interventions to regulate or break up monopolies and create public alternatives must be considered. A new social contract can help fund the infrastructure that democracy requires, especially journalism that focuses on local issues and holds concentrated power (such as Facebook's) to account. The challenge before us now is to claw back the Internet from unaccountable monopolies. ■

Victor Pickard is an associate professor at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of America's Battle for Media Democracy.

AP PHOTO / ANDREW HARNIK

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Letters

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(continued from page 2)

of the industry lobby group CTIA, never planned to do any research. Carlo talks about commissioning 50 studies, but it was all pie in the sky. Twenty-five million dollars should have paid for a load of published scientific papers. They don't exist. Carlo only changed sides when Wheeler later refused to give him more money.

Over the years that Carlo's faux project was in operation, the number of cell-phone users grew from about 10 million to over 100 million. By then, everyone loved their phones and no one cared about possible health effects. Mission accomplished.

Louis Slesin
Editor, *Microwave News*
New York City

Dowie and Hertsgaard Reply

We thank all the readers who wrote letters about our article but will respond here only to the critics.

Jon Crawfurd appears not to have read our article very carefully. As would be clear to anyone whose mind wasn't already made up, the evidence presented in our article was by no means merely anecdotal. For example, we noted that the vast majority of scientific studies of cell-phone radiation cataloged in the US government's National Institutes of Health database have indeed found effects such as cancer and genetic damage. Moreover, after our article went to press, the scientific peer review of a major study by the NIH's National Toxicology Program concluded there is "clear evidence" that cell-phone radiation causes cancer.

We remain grateful to Louis Slesin for the interviews he gave us, and we quoted his negative opinion about George Carlo in the article, but his accusation that we were "seduced" by Carlo is preposterous. Slesin doesn't mention it, but readers deserve to know that Slesin has been an unremitting critic of Carlo's since he first started writing about the scientist in the 1990s. Readers should also know that this piece underwent extensive legal review and fact-checking before publishing. To wit, Slesin claims here that the 50 scientific studies Carlo commissioned for the industry "don't exist." That is not true. In fact, those studies are referenced in a scientific paper that Carlo co-authored for the peer-reviewed journal *Medscape* in 2000, and they are summarized in the 703 combined pages of a two-volume study that Carlo also co-authored, *Wireless Phones and Health: Scientific Progress*.

These facts—documented, not alternative—helped inform our portrayal of Carlo as a scientist who started out on industry's side but later publicly revealed information that was decidedly unwelcome in the industry. These facts may not fit Slesin's preferred narrative of Carlo as a one-dimensional villain, but that is Slesin's problem, not ours.

Mark Dowie
Point Reyes Station, Calif.
Mark Hertsgaard
San Francisco

Painfully Prescient

A friend gave me *The Nation*'s March 14, 2016, issue, with a cover declaring "Donald Trump Is Dangerous." I have kept it ever since. How prescient! At the time, he had not even become the Republican nominee.

I reread the article every so often in an effort to measure how far our country has fallen, how much further it has traveled down a negative path.

Mary R. Carter
Washington, D.C.

RUN OVER BY WORDS

Alfred Döblin's Berlin

by ADAM KIRSCH

"What is Alexanderplatz in Berlin?" asked Walter Benjamin in his review of Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. As Döblin's original readers would have known quite well, Alexanderplatz is a square in central Berlin that serves as a transportation hub and as the anchor of a commercial district. But for Benjamin, the key fact about Alexanderplatz in 1929, when Döblin's book was published, was that it was a vast construction site, "where for the last two years the most violent transformations have been taking place, where excavators and jackhammers have been continuously at work, where the ground trembles under the impact of their blows."

Alexanderplatz, then, was the scene of a modern metropolis coming dangerously and discordantly into being—just as Berlin does in Döblin's novel. In his afterword, Michael Hofmann, who gives us an impressively wild and fearless new translation of the book, credits it with founding "the idea of modern city literature altogether." This might be an exaggeration of its uniqueness: Any English-speaking reader will immediately think of James Joyce and John Dos Passos as parallels, if

Berlin Alexanderplatz
By Alfred Döblin
Translated by Michael Hofmann
New York Review Books. 480 pp. $18.95

Adam Kirsch is a poet and critic. His most recent book is The Global Novel: Writing the World in the 21st Century.

ILLUSTRATION BY **TIM ROBINSON**

not necessarily precursors. Like them, Döblin makes use of stream of consciousness, collage and montage, the collision of discourses and registers. One might also think of T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land," with its hypnotic vision of London as an "Unreal City" and the crowds of the living dead flowing over London Bridge. But when the city in question is Weimar-era Berlin, the urban chaos and dread take on new dimensions. In *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, we are plunged into a cauldron of alienation, violence, and social breakdown that would, just a few years after Döblin wrote his novel, deliver all of Germany into the hands of the Nazis.

At the center of Döblin's misanthropic pageant is Franz Biberkopf, a pimp and thief who, as the novel opens, has just been released from prison, after serving four years for beating his girlfriend to death in a rage. Franz is clearly no hero, but it would also be wrong to call him an antihero; he is almost too passive to be a protagonist at all. For the most part, things just happen to him, usually sordid and miserable things. Over the course of the novel, Franz will be run over and lose an arm; another of his girlfriends, Mitzi, will be murdered and buried in a suitcase. It is this last crime, for which Franz is indirectly responsible, that sends him back to prison and then to a mental hospital, where the novel reaches its nightmarish climax.

Put this way, the story of Franz Biberkopf sounds like a cross between a hard-boiled crime novel and a piece of agitprop about the fate of Berlin's underclass. But *Berlin Alexanderplatz* transcends its genre elements, largely because of Döblin's deep lack of hope about what can be expected of human beings. (Döblin was also a practicing physician, which may have informed his clinical view of the average Berliner.) A thriller must be suspenseful, but there is never much doubt as to how Franz's story will end. Each step in his descent—his desultory attempts to earn a living, his half-hearted decision to join up with a gang, his injuries and losses and final breakdown—feels fated, as if it would be foolish to hope for anything better. The book even features chapter summaries that are deliberately deflating: "A speedy recovery, the man is back where he was, he has learnt nothing and understood nothing," goes the introduction to chapter five.

Likewise, agitprop must rest on some implied vision of a better future. But while he was a committed leftist, Döblin offers very little sense of social possibility; the novel was attacked by communist critics for that reason. Franz is not totally apolitical: Early in the story, we find him singing right-wing anthems, which almost leads to a fistfight with some young communists in a pub. For a while he sells pornographic magazines, which leads to a flicker of unexpected sympathy for Weimar Germany's nascent gay-rights movement. But each of these momentary arousals soon gives way to his usual selfish passivity: "But no, he's not interested, he doesn't want anything to do with them."

The response Döblin could have made to such criticism is that Franz was never meant to be a proletarian at all. Though reference is made to his having once actually worked as a furniture mover, he is now firmly fixed in the lumpenproletariat. "Forget about working," Franz lectures Emmi, a girl he picks up in a bar on "the Alex." "Working gives you calluses, but not money. At most a hole in your head. Working never made anyone rich, I tell you. Only cheating." In this sense, Döblin suggests, Franz is a good student of the lessons of recent German history. Everyone in Franz's generation who followed the rules was killed or maimed in the war—the streets are full of crippled, begging veterans—or else bankrupted by the inflation of the early 1920s.

In refusing even the solidarity offered by Weimar's extremist political movements, Franz has a kind of integrity: However miserable he may be, he is at least himself. Indeed, in the novel's climax, it is Franz's ability to confront his fate head-on, to accept the pain and guilt of his existence, that earns him a kind of salvation. In a magnificent, hallucinatory scene in the prison hospital, Franz comes face to face with Death. "Come, Franz, come closer to me so that you see me, see how you're lying in an abyss, I will show you a ladder, and you will find a new way of seeing," Death promises. Franz emerges from this torment as a different version of himself: "a new man who has the same papers as him."

If *Berlin Alexanderplatz* were nothing but Franz's story, however, it would not be such a powerful book. Franz gains his significance because he is meant to be a representative of Berlin, with all its selfishness, garishness, and heedlessness. No sooner has he returned to Berlin than he encounters the construction work on the Alexanderplatz: "On the corner he got held up, people were stood in front of a fence, there was a big hole there.... Look at that, they're building an underground, there must be work to be had in Berlin after all."

It is the language of modern urban life that is being blown up and rebuilt in these pages. The bravura beginning of the book's second chapter is a montage of city life: weather reports, tram schedules, lists of addresses. Like an eavesdropping flaneur—or again like Eliot, who did the police in different voices—Döblin tunes in to the conversations and monologues of average Berliners, all of which are banal and unsavory: a drunk in a bar, an old man picking up a young girl. As the novel proceeds, it only gets more cacophonous, as Döblin continues to commingle newspaper headlines, biblical quotations, patriotic songs, puns, and lines from advertising campaigns. Apocalyptic refrains from the Book of Revelation resound throughout the text, as Berlin is implicitly compared to the Whore of Babylon.

Throughout, the prose is saturated with lowlife slang—Hofmann's Anglicized equivalent of the legendary Berlin dialect, which Benjamin described as "a dialect that moves at a relaxed pace...in love with the way things are said." Here, for instance, is how it sounds when Franz looks at himself in the mirror:

> Up we get. Franz Biberkopf straightened himself out in front of the mirror. Who wasn't pleased at all to see his pale, flabby, pimpled cheeks was Frankie BBK. My God, what a face, red lines across his brow, where on earth d'he get these red lines from, his cap, he supposed, and his schnozz, Christ, man, a thick red schnozz like that, doesn't have to be from schnapps, I suppose, it's cold out; but the glooping peepers, like a cow's, where do I get those calves' eyes from, and staring as if they were nailed fast. As if someone'd dunked me in syrup.

For Döblin, as for many of the leading German writers of his time, the most sinister thing about modernity was the colonization of the individual mind by parasitic discourses. Karl Kraus, the Viennese writer and editor of the satirical *Die Fackel*, blamed the First World War on the influence of journalism, which cloaked reality in predigested phrases. Martin Heidegger, around the same time, was writing about the menace of *das Man*, "the They," who spoke an inauthentic dialect of idle chatter. In *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Döblin made this loquacity the very center of the novel, and in so doing exposed its own terrifying shallowness. "I have been taken in by words before now, and have had to pay bitterly for it, that won't happen to Biberkopf again," Franz reflects in the novel's final pages. "The words come rolling towards you, you need to watch yourself, see that they don't run you over." And that may be the best definition of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*: Döblin's transcription of what it sounds like to be run over by words. ■

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THE VIEW FROM WHITEHALL

David Cannadine's new history of 19th-century Britain focuses on high politics to the exclusion of nearly everything else

by RICHARD J. EVANS

As the British political establishment rushes blindly toward the Gadarene cliffs of Brexit, movie theaters are awash with films portraying the days when the country stood alone against the might of Europe—movies like *Dunkirk*, *Churchill*, and *Darkest Hour*. Meanwhile, Brexiteers paint an alluring picture of a golden future that will revive the greatness of Britain's past, above all the days when the United Kingdom was an imperial superpower that dominated the world. Before publication, the title of David Cannadine's book was changed from *The Contradictions of Progress* to *Victorious Century*; with its new title, the book is now surfing high on this wave of nostalgia.

Victorious Century
The United Kingdom, 1800–1906
By David Cannadine
Viking. 624 pp. $40

"For much of the time," Cannadine writes of his chosen period, "it was an era of national greatness, global reach and imperial aggrandizement, which in our

Richard J. Evans is the provost of Gresham College, London. His most recent book is The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914, *and he is currently completing a biography of the historian Eric Hobsbawm.*

HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE, WESTMINSTER, LONDON / ALAMY

devolved, downsized, post-imperial, post-Brexit Britain, is experientially unknowable and imaginatively all but irrecoverable." In those days, Britain led the world politically and economically, in an age that was very "unlike our own diminished times and limited horizons." In *Victorious Century*, Cannadine underscores the central myth of Brexit: that Britain has always been wholly unlike other European nations. The Victorians, he asserts, were right to think that their country was "unique, exceptional and providentially blessed." Indeed, the book barely provides comparisons with other European countries at all, thus implicitly confirming the thesis of British uniqueness even where it is not really sustainable.

Of course, Cannadine is too good a historian not to realize that there was a dark side to all this, in terms of social inequality, poverty, and exploitation at home and, at least early on, the "toleration" (as he puts it) of slavery in the British Empire. Indeed, pointing such things out is characteristic of his approach, which involves putting forward one argument but then qualifying it by propounding an opposing argument in the next paragraph, so that the reader frequently ends up not knowing what the author really thinks. But *Victorious Century* says hardly anything in detail about the economic problems and social inequalities that beset Georgian and Victorian Britain; most of the book is devoted to telling the story of the political efforts to overcome them. Misery and deprivation appear not in their own right, in any descriptive or analytical treatment, but, in the main, merely as the objects of legislative reform.

This is because the book's understanding of historical method is resolutely old-fashioned, as insular in its approach as it is in its selection and presentation of facts. For, in defiance of all the developments in historical method that have taken place across the world over the past half-century, *Victorious Century* is centered on high politics, to the virtual exclusion of everything else. The ever-shifting political alliances and alignments are narrated in bewildering and frequently tedious detail, as we go through a seemingly endless series of British cabinets, most of them filled with carefully identified but justly forgotten aristocrats, and the various laws they steered through Parliament.

One wonders if this is really necessary. After all, it's easy enough to look up, on sites like Wikipedia, the names of ministers, the composition of governments, and the provisions of the bills and acts they promoted; surely what the historian needs to do is to wield the broad brush of historical interpretation, rather than focus on the fine-grained depiction of political events. It all reminds one of the approach of Lewis Namier, a historian whose grindingly thorough research on high politics at the accession of George III in the mid–18th century prompted his disciples to produce, some decades later, one boring account after another of the ins and outs of the cabinets that followed. What Cannadine presents in *Victorious Century* is essentially a narrative in the same mold, only much better written. Yet, precisely because of its intensive focus on the cabinet intrigues and political doings in Westminster and Whitehall, the book is not an easy read. This is not least because, despite mention of the "larger than life" personalities who fill the story, we never find out how their quirks and foibles helped shape events. A few choice quotations and a handful of anecdotes about the key figures would have sufficed, but we don't get them. High political history, done in a way that pays attention to personal traits and relationships—such as in *The Sleepwalkers*, Christopher Clark's recent account of the diplomatic run-up to World War I—can add a new dimension to our understanding of events, but here we don't get any of these things. The politicians who populate Cannadine's book—even the greatest of them—remain just names, individual pieces on the chessboard of politics, as lifeless as the wood or ivory from which the pieces are commonly made.

Industry, culture, society, science, and the economy appear from time to time in brief sections of a few pages apiece, before the relentless enumeration of cabinets, elections, ministries, and laws resumes. The popular discontent of the early decades of the 19th century, with its Luddites and machine-breakers, its rioters and strikes, gets four pages of coverage. But this is not much more than the three pages assigned shortly afterward to the career and opinions of the obscure early-19th-century colonial secretary Lord Bathurst. When Cannadine deals with the economic "distress" of the "labouring classes" following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, he does so to discuss not the realities of unemployment and destitution, but their impact on high politics and parliamentary legislation.

The voices of the great mass of ordinary Britons are heard throughout this book only as distant cries echoing down the corridors of Whitehall and Westminster. The rick-burning activities of the agrarian protest movement culminating in the so-called Swing Riots (after Captain Swing, the movement's mythical leader) are viewed entirely from the perspective of the government. "Britain may have avoided major political upheaval between the 1790s and the 1840s," Cannadine writes, "but these were, nevertheless, exceptionally challenging decades for those in authority, and they were also disruptive and disrupted for virtually everyone else." Were these decades not also exceptionally challenging for the poor, downtrodden, and oppressed? (Or, as Cannadine calls them, dismissing virtually the whole of society in a throwaway phrase, "everyone else.")

The people are missing even from the book's descriptions of the nation's great capital city. An account of the growth of London as a metropolis focuses on the erection of grand buildings and the development of middle-class suburbs, but says next to nothing about the city's cramped and decrepit "rookeries" (or tenements), the subject of so much impassioned rhetoric in the novels of Charles Dickens, the century's greatest writer. But then Dickens himself gets only a few passing mentions, nothing in detail. When it comes to the people who lived in the world outside Whitehall and Westminster, Cannadine prefers to focus on the upper classes and the bourgeoisie, as portrayed in the novels of Anthony Trollope. His account of what he calls the annus mirabilis of British publishing, 1859, lists Samuel Smiles, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Darwin, and has a whole paragraph on George Eliot; but he does not mention Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities*, published the same year, despite Cannadine's use of the novel's famous opening sentence ("It was the best of times, it was the worst of times") as an epigraph for his own book.

There is a very brief allusion to the rise of working-class culture in the 1880s, but

the claim that it was "in many ways profoundly conservative" is backed up only by the statement that this was "evidenced by the number of pubs in working-class districts named 'The Earl of Beaconsfield' or 'The Lord Salisbury'"—names most likely given not by their working-class customers but by the brewers who owned them (or, if they were free houses, by their petty-bourgeois landlords).

Similarly, when Cannadine refers to "unacceptable levels of poverty," he means unacceptable to the various Royal Commissions that investigated them, not to those who had to endure such conditions. Another brief section on poverty toward the end of the 19th century presents the results of the famous social surveys by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree, yet it links them not to the lived experiences of the poor but rather to the emerging debates among the political elite on "degeneracy" and "national efficiency."

The book's predominant perspective is revealed once again in the sections on women's lives in the 19th century. For example, the subject of women and gender gets eight pages in the middle of *Victorious Century*, but they're mostly on Florence Nightingale, Angela Burdett-Coutts, Mary Seacole, and, of course, Queen Victoria. Yet a great mass of modern research has been published over the past half-century on the social history of ordinary women, as well as on gender, sexuality, marriage, motherhood, and ideals of femininity. This work is almost completely ignored.

And when Cannadine does deal with matters of birth, marriage, and death, he gets it spectacularly wrong. "Most people," he says, referring to the first three-quarters or so of the century, "died before they were forty," a claim he returns to on more than one occasion. He even seems to imagine a kind of mass die-off for almost everybody who reached that age; discussing the death of Albert, Queen Victoria's prince consort, Cannadine states that "most nineteenth-century Britons died at about Albert's age (he was forty-two)."

In the middle decades of the century, life expectancy in Britain was indeed around 40. But "life expectancy" means life expectancy *at birth*, and 40 is an *average*. According to the UK's Office for National Statistics, some 15 percent of all children born in Victorian England died before the age of 1. But once you got past the dangerous early years, you could expect to live a lot longer. Anyone who survived to the age of 5 could expect to live, on average, to the age of about 55. If you survived to the age of 25, you could expect, on average, to live into your early 60s. And if you reached the age of 50, you could expect to live, again on average, until the biblically allotted age of 70. All of this is very well-known, and can be found in any standard textbook on Victorian medical or demographic history. It beggars belief that Cannadine should get such a basic fact of social history so wrong.

What caused Cannadine to narrow the focus of his book so drastically? What made him throw away the sophisticated techniques and tools of his trade, which he displayed with such brilliance in his early work—in his studies on war and death, grief and mourning in the 20th century, for instance, or on the rituals of royalty in the 19th? Partly, I think, it's because in his research—from his first big and important book, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, to *Ornamentalism*, his brief but suggestive later study of class and status in the British Empire—Cannadine has always focused on the upper classes. But in writing a general survey for a series like "The Penguin History of Britain," it is vital to widen one's focus and look at society as a whole, and this book, I am compelled with great regret to say, signally fails to do that.

More importantly, perhaps, over the past couple of decades, Cannadine has risen fast and high in British public administration. Among other things, he has been director of the Institute of Historical Research, a member of the Royal Mint Advisory Committee, and commissioner of English Heritage as well as chairman of its Blue Plaques Panel (the body that decides which figures from the past to memorialize with blue plaques on a wall of the houses where they lived). He is currently president of the Friends of the Imperial War Museum, a member of the Bank of England Banknote Character Advisory Committee, and a trustee of august bodies too numerous to mention, including the Royal Academy and the Historic Royal Palaces charity. Last year, Cannadine was elected president of the British Academy, the national body for the humanities and social sciences.

None of these positions is a sinecure, to put it mildly. And during his tenure in each, Cannadine has been an undoubted force for good—presiding over major improvements at the National Portrait Gallery, where he was a trustee and then chair from 2000 to 2012; pressing successfully to reduce the waiting time for the release of documents in public archives from 30 years to 20 as a member of an independent review panel; and intervening powerfully in the debate over teaching history in British schools with a major investigative project, published as *The Right Kind of History* in 2011. He is also a polished and compelling lecturer and a talented and entertaining broadcaster, delivering sharp and witty commentaries for the long-running BBC radio series *A Point of View*.

As if all this weren't enough, Cannadine is general editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the "Penguin History of Britain" series, and "The Penguin History of Europe," and he has done much of this from the United States, where he is the Dodge Professor of History at Princeton University. His energy and dedication are simply awe-inspiring, worthy to be ranked alongside those of the greatest of the great Victorians. It is not surprising that he was knighted for his service to scholarship in 2009—a fitting tribute to the leading place he has earned for himself in the public life of the humanities in Britain.

But all this accomplishment has come at a price. It has left him, it seems to me, with insufficient time to think over the problems involved in writing a book such as this one, and insufficient leisure to spend the days, months, and years in libraries and archives required to give it any real depth or to ground it thoroughly in the current state of historical research. More seriously, perhaps, he's come to identify with the establishment to such an extent that he now appears to see British society in the 19th century largely through its eyes. As a consequence, he displays here a narrow, cripplingly myopic vision that does serious injustice to the millions of ordinary Britons who should have been the subject of this book, as they have been the subject of most of the research carried out on the period by other historians over the past few decades. In the end, it doesn't really do David Cannadine justice either. Reading this book, one would hardly guess that, at his best, he is a historian of genuine originality, sparkling wit, and acute perception. And that's a real pity. ■

HEAVEN COMPARED TO THE REST OF THE COUNTRY

Wallace Thurman in Harlem

by ALLYSON HOBBS

"My color shrouds me in..." Wallace Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry* adopts this line from Countee Cullen, another Harlem Renaissance writer, as one of its two epigraphs. (The other is the well-known "Negro folk saying" that supplies the novel's title: "The blacker the berry / The sweeter the juice...") Through the life of his protagonist, Emma Lou, Thurman delves deep into the painful history of colorism, a term defined by Alice Walker to mean "prejudicial or preferential treatment of same-race people based solely on their color." Emma Lou, Thurman writes, "was black, too black, there was no getting around it." Her skin color overdetermines her life circumstances and alienates her from lighter-skinned family members, including her grandmother, who takes pride in her "blue veins," and her mother, who wishes that Emma Lou had been born a boy because "black boys can make a go of it, but black girls..."

Emma Lou does not mind being black, though she "did mind being too black," and she comes to view her complexion as "a liability," "a decided curse," and a tragedy that befalls her no matter where she goes. Unloved in her hometown of Boise, Idaho, she hopes to find happiness in college, at the University of Southern California, among more sophisticated peers. "Boise was a provincial town," Emma Lou muses, "given to the molding of provincial people with provincial minds. Its people were cramped and narrow, their intellectual concepts stereotyped and static. Los Angeles was a happy contrast in all respects." But these dreams do not come true: The "right sort of people" shun her; she isn't invited to join their sororities or social clubs; and no respectable black man will date her. "There was no place in the world for a dark girl," she laments. And even when Emma

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ILLUSTRATION BY **TIM ROBINSON**

Lou decides to move to Harlem, she still finds no refuge. The black metropolis may have been a place where, in Thurman's words, "anything might happen and everything does," but it cannot save Emma Lou from a life of exploitation, unfulfilling jobs, and growing disillusionment.

In Wallace Thurman, Langston Hughes saw "a strangely brilliant Black boy who had read everything, and whose critical mind could find something wrong with everything he read." Like Emma Lou, Thurman was a dark-skinned Westerner who felt like an outsider; born in Salt Lake City, he was one of the only black students in his school. And again like Emma Lou, he attended the University of Southern California, where he was treated poorly by the white students and experienced intragroup prejudice from the black students, whom he perceived as pretentious.

After graduation, Thurman settled in Harlem in the 1920s and became a leading (and legendary) figure in the Harlem Renaissance—part of the "niggerati," as Zora Neale Hurston famously called this influential group of intellectuals and artists. Working with A. Philip Randolph, Thurman became an editor at *The Messenger*, a political and literary journal, and in 1926 he co-founded, with Hurston, Hughes, Aaron Douglas, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Bruce Nugent, a bold and innovative publication called *Fire!!*, which featured the work of younger artists but was disliked by the black middle class because of its candid presentation of black life. In 1929, Thurman collaborated with the white playwright William Jourdan Rapp to write and produce *Harlem*, which ran for 93 performances and became "the first successful play written entirely or in part by a Negro to appear on Broadway." Thurman believed that African Americans could overcome racial barriers, but he experienced countless incidents of racism during his short life. In a letter to Rapp, he wrote that he'd purchased center-aisle tickets to *Harlem* on five separate occasions, including opening night, and found himself seated "on the side in a little section where any other Negro who happened to buy an orchestra seat was also placed."

Thurman experienced similar incidents everywhere he went. In Salt Lake City, he was troubled by the spread of what he perceived as Southern-style segregation after a taxi driver refused to take him home from the railroad station. In Los Angeles, he tried to make a train reservation, only to have it rejected. Perhaps for this reason, he never gave up on New York, which was "heaven compared to the rest of the country." One might still have an unpleasant experience there, but at least, as Thurman remarked to Rapp, "people don't stare at you or jump away as if you were a leper."

It was in 1929, in his beloved New York, that Thurman achieved his greatest fame. In addition to *Harlem*, he published *The Blacker the Berry*, which was as celebrated at the time as it is underappreciated in our own, neither cited nor read as often as other novels of the Harlem Renaissance. These days, Emma Lou is a less familiar protagonist than Irene Redfield, Helga Crane, and Clare Kendry, her counterparts in the novels of Nella Larsen. Some literary scholars believe that the popularity of *The Blacker the Berry* waned because its themes of color consciousness and intra-racial conflict clashed with the temper of the civil-rights era. But it may also have been the boldness of its social commentary. Thurman and Larsen both suggest that there were few, if any, avenues available for middle-class black women in the 1920s—but unlike Irene Redfield in *Passing*, Emma Lou remains unmarried *and* self-sufficient. Nor does Thurman drape a decorous veil over her sexual life: Not only does Emma Lou engage in sex without being married, but she actively seeks sexual partners and asserts that she doesn't regret the "loss of her virtue." Like other characters, she is searching for a stable sense of self. Still, her primary dilemma is one of color and complexion.

Thurman had his own dilemmas. Living as a dark-skinned man was one; his sexuality was another. Thurman did not conform entirely to the norms of either heterosexual or homosexual culture. Describing him as "an explorer," the literary scholar Granville Ganter argues that Thurman's fluid sexuality works as a metaphor for the "breadth of his imaginative vision as a writer and artist." As an explorer, Thurman sought to examine aspects of black life—raucous rent parties, sexual relationships outside of marriage, homosexuality—not governed by the mores and taboos of the black middle class.

In 1925, in a real-life scandal that reads like fiction (and would later become the plot of one of his short stories, "Cordelia the Crude," published in *Fire!!*), Thurman—who was married at the time—spent 48 hours in jail after being caught in a sexual act with a man in a bathroom. A minister—who Thurman later discovered also "belonged to the male sisterhood"—bailed him out but demanded a bribe for his silence. Thurman refused, and word spread quickly; his wife would eventually use the scandal against him in their divorce.

Thurman acknowledged that the incident happened, but he claimed that there was "no evidence" that he was gay. He knew that there was "a certain group of Negroes in Harlem" who relished and relayed the news about his sexuality far and wide. In a letter to Rapp before the incident, Thurman noted that he was already at "a very low ebb" and wished he had gone to Europe, but wondered if he wouldn't have been equally troubled there. As he explained:

> I am afraid that I am losing my sense of humor, for I find myself less able to laugh at things and more inclined to let them depress me. Even on the train I was beset by a Pullman porter for my dastardly propaganda against the race. And here at the house a delegation of church members (at my grandmother's request) flocked in on me and prayed over me for almost an hour, beseeching the Almighty to turn my talents into the path of righteousness. All of which is amusing until the point of saturation is reached.

The scandal only made matters worse. After a scuffle with his grandmother's minister back in Utah, Thurman wrote that his "'ostracisation' among polite colored circles in Salt Lake [was] now complete."

It is unclear whether such an exclusion bothered Thurman. At times, he seemed to accept his attraction to men, despite the distance it created between him and his family; at other times, he seemed anxious to prove his heterosexuality. Thurman's desire to be accepted and loved can be seen in the analysis of the psychological costs of intra-racial prejudice found in *The Blacker the Berry*. His longing is palpable. His biographer, Eleonore van Notten, writes of Thurman's position as an outcast, noting that his "egoism... provoked social alienation rather than transcendence." Thurman wrestled with his identity and searched for a place to call home, while Langston Hughes, who had his own equally complicated identity, called for self-acceptance with a more assured voice:

> We younger Negro artists who create

> now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased, we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.

During his time, Thurman was celebrated for writing novels and short stories and producing plays that offered honest, unabashed depictions of black life. *The Blacker the Berry* was hailed in advertisements as "a thumping good novel of the night-life hilarity and bitter tragedy that are really Harlem" and "the most honest and accurate book yet written around Negro life." Hughes sent a telegram to Thurman proclaiming: "Your potential soars like a kite breaking patterns for Negro writers."

The final tragedy of Thurman's life, then, was that it was cut short before he'd had the chance to fully realize that potential. Thurman died of tuberculosis in December 1934, at the age of 32, still wrestling with himself and struggling to find a place where he belonged. Some five years before his death, Thurman wrote a letter to Rapp in which he sounded very much like a man who was aware that he didn't have much time left:

> I am astonished and alarmed by my condition. Do I need a change of air? I cannot tell. Is it my sick body that weakens my will and mind, or is it a spiritual cowardice wears out my body? I do not know. What I do feel is an immense discouragement, a sensation of unbearable isolation, a perpetual fear of some remote disaster, an utter disbelief in my capacity, a total absence of desire, an impossibility of finding any kind of interest.

He had just flown back to New York after what would prove to be his final visit to the West. We cannot know how far his gifts and talents might have taken him. ■

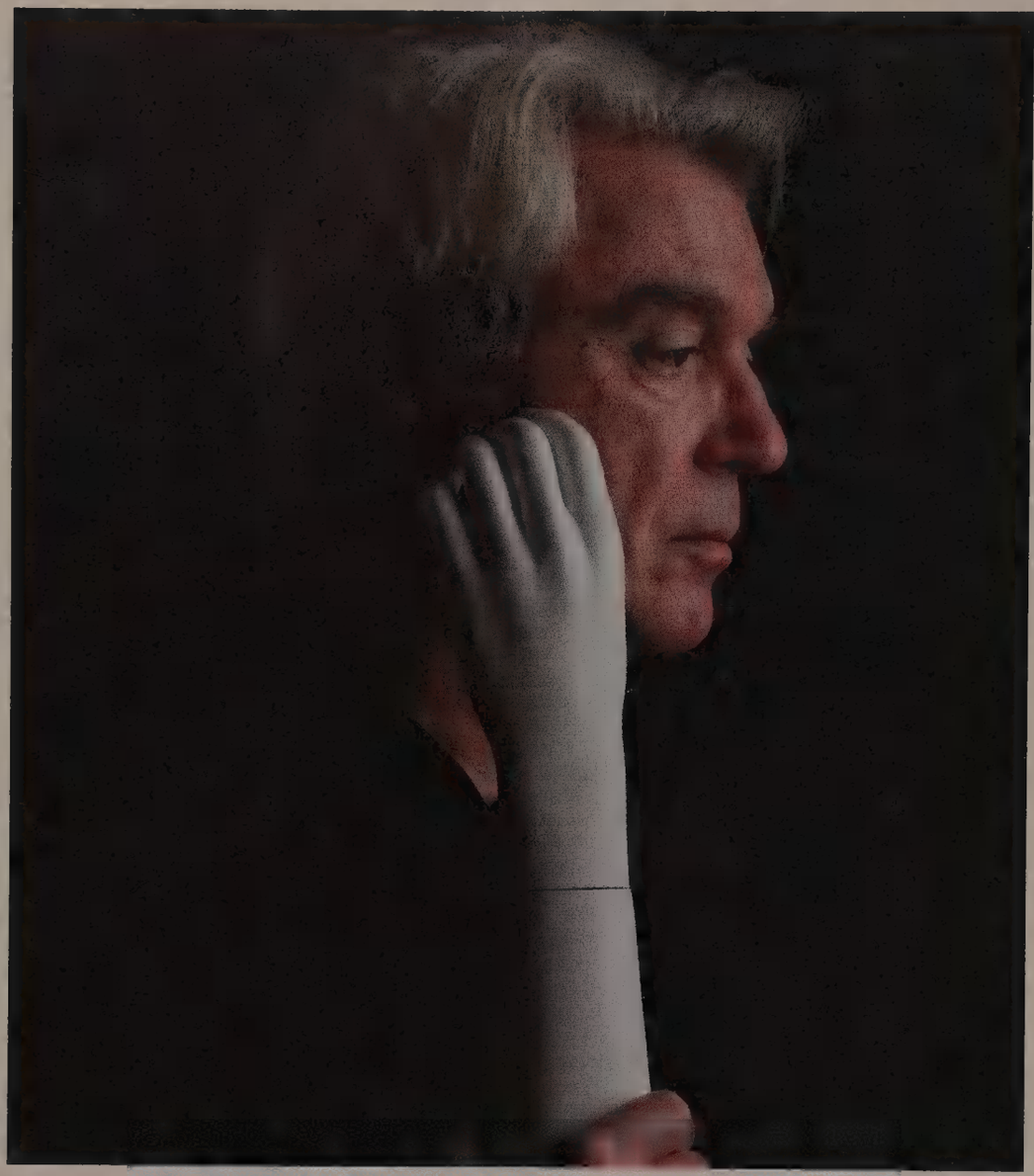
This essay is adapted from Hobbs's introduction to The Blacker the Berry *by Wallace Thurman, published by Penguin Classics, a division of Penguin Random House LLC. Introduction* *©2018 by Allyson Hobbs.*

Assemblages

—after Rodin's *Female nude climbing out of a pot*

It opened with glissandi, repeated sweeps of fingers across
Keys, but like waves seen from a distance, making their way
Along the shore, the machine guns that ripped through the village
Can no longer be heard. Even the church bell lies on the floor of the
Sanctuary, tongue melted to the cheek of its mouth like the fingers
Of Thomas pressing the holes in Christ's side in order to
Believe. *Batter-batter*, *batter-batter*, we'd all start to chatter
When someone on the other team got up to bat. The deep red dye
Made from wild madder, when eaten, turned the bones
Of animals red, the claws and beaks of birds, too, and cloth dyed
With madder was used to wrap Egyptian mummies. By candlelight
In the Villa des Brillants, Rodin loved in the evenings to linger
With his fragments of ancient statues—hands, heads, fingers,
Arms, and feet—because they held some trace of a former
Life. He cast small nude female bodies in white clay and placed them
In antique terracotta pots: we still watch them struggle to climb out
Of the past. Before they were taken out to be executed, the women held
In Ravensbrück put on lipstick, pinched their cheeks, and arranged
Each other's hair. The women and children of Oradour-sur-Glane
Tried to escape from the village church after the soldiers shut
The doors, set fire to the building, and began to shoot. Only one
Woman escaped, broke glass and climbed out of the window behind
And above the altar, the stone altar now pitted by the rounded heads
Of bullets, niches into which you can place the tip of your forefinger as if
You were waiting at a counter, in quiet light, about to be fingerprinted.

ANGIE ESTES



LAMENTATIONS

Mount Eerie's *Now Only* and David Byrne's *American Utopia*

by BIJAN STEPHEN

What's more primal than singing to the dead? "I sing to you, Geneviève / I sing to you / You don't exist / I sing to you, though": So begins *Now Only*, the ninth album that Phil Elverum, the 39-year-old multi-instrumentalist, has recorded under the name Mount Eerie. Geneviève did exist, once, as Geneviève Gosselin, and then as Geneviève Castrée, an accomplished artist and musician, and finally as Geneviève Elverum, before her death in 2016, at age 35, from pancreatic cancer; she was diagnosed just four months after the couple's only daughter was born. Death changes things for the living left behind, and though that's an easy observation to make, it's much harder to live with, there in the aftermath when everything's changed.

Now Only is remarkable for many reasons, not least because it's a sequel to 2017's *A Crow Looked at Me*, a spare, beautiful album that Elverum wrote in the days immediately after Geneviève's death. "Death is real / Someone's there and then they're not / And it's not for singing about / It's not for making into art," went the opening lines of "Real Death," the album's first track. Like *Now Only*, the rest of the album was similarly devastated and lean, filled with the kind of observations that can't be understood until you've experienced a death in the family. Put next to each other, what's astonishing about both albums is how Elverum is able to make his raw grief legible.

David Byrne's *American Utopia*—the legendary musician's first solo album in 14 years—offers an expansive and ambitious contrast to Elverum's intensely focused minimalism. "In another dimension / Like the clothes that you wear / A mighty mighty battle / Sprouting illegal hair," he sings in the first lines of "I Dance Like This." "A fitness consultant / In the negative zone / Wandering the city / Looking for a home." The words are set to fat, plunky chords that lift up Byrne's signature warble, until about 50 seconds in, when it's clear something has gone wrong. As he reaches the chorus—"I dance like this / Because it feels so damn good / If I could dance better / Well, you know that I would"—the song shifts into a techno-futurist breakdown, something that wouldn't have sounded out of place in the 1980s. While the lyrics are ambiguous enough to project any meaning onto, it's the music that's the real trial here. Nearly all of *American Utopia* is like this: Byrne has something to say, but it's not clear that he knows what that might be.

On "Every Day Is a Miracle," a grooving island-fusion mélange that feels as though it's been beamed in from a rural state fair in the '90s, Byrne theorizes about desire:

> Cockroach might eat *Mona Lisa*
> The pope don't mean shit to a dog
> And elephants don't read
> newspapers
> And the kiss of a chicken is hot
>
> The brain of a chicken
> And the dick of a donkey
> A pig in a blanket
> And that's why you want me

While I'm not sure what a donkey's dick has to do with why a person might want another person, the song does bop. The deeper issue here, one that cuts across every song on *American Utopia*, is that Byrne's cryptic songwriting fails to meaningfully address his chosen subject: America as utopia, as a place worth writing paeans to. Here, the chorus to "Every Day Is a Miracle" is instructive. "Every day is a miracle / Every day is an unpaid bill / You've got to sing for your supper / Love one another," it goes, apparently without irony. That's a

DAVID BYRNE (AP)

fine sentiment, but it has very little to do with the world we live in.

There's a naïveté on display that I'm sure Byrne is putting on for show, but it falls flat amid phenomena like the Trump-emboldened white-supremacist movement, the package bombs targeting minority communities in Texas, and the school shooting in Parkland, Florida, that killed 17 people. This is an album more suited to the late '90s than to today, which really comes into focus on "It's Not That Dark Up Here," a song that's seemingly meant to question received wisdom. "Does winter follow spring / Like night follows day / Must a question have an answer / Can't there be another way?" Byrne asks plaintively, playing it straight. "Would you like to talk about it / Would you like to pull my hair? / Plants have roots / But I don't know if they're deep enough to make me stay." Metaphor and allusion only work when it's clear everyone has a sense of what you're talking about. There are occasional flashes that penetrate Byrne's intentional obtuseness, such as on "Everybody's Coming to My House," the album's penultimate track: "We're only tourists in this life / Only tourists but the view is nice / And we're never gonna go back home.... No, we're never gonna go back home." But more often, the listener just feels completely lost.

Now Only, on the other hand, knows both what it's about and who it's for. In both its straightforward telling and its emotionally resonant songwriting, Elverum's latest work—a masterpiece—recalls the 16th-century Polish poet Jan Kochanowski's *Laments*, which he wrote after his 2-year-old daughter died. "And help me mourn my sweet, whom in her May / Ungodly Death hath ta'en to his estate, / Leaving me on a sudden desolate," the poet writes in his first lament. "'Tis vain to weep,' my friends perchance will say." Compare that to this passage from Elverum's "Two Paintings by Nikolai Astrup," which is more elliptical but says much the same thing about the writer's emotional state after a devastating loss:

I'm flying on an airplane over the Grand Canyon
Imagining strangers going through the wreckage of this flight if it were to crash
And would anyone notice or care gathering up my stuff from the desert below?
Would they investigate the last song I was listening to?
Would they go through my phone and see the last picture I ever took
Was of our sleeping daughter early this morning
Getting ready to go, and I was struck by her face
Sweet in the blue light of our dim room?

Then he snaps out of his morbid fantasy:

And I know that's not how it would go
I know the actual mess that death leaves behind
It just gets bulldozed in a panic by the living, pushed over the waterfall
Because that's me now, holding all your things....

He's the one still alive, he realizes—and it's hard to tell whether he's ambivalent about that fact, or astonished at the absurdity of it.

Across both *A Crow Looked at Me* and *Now Only*, Elverum is obsessed with thresholds, with bones, dust, water, birds, nature itself. Foxgloves recur throughout his albums, the "first flowers that return to disturbed ground / Like where logging took place / Or where someone like me rolled around wailing in a clearing," as he sings on "Two Paintings." On *A Crow Looked at Me*'s "Seaweed," foxgloves are an occasion to remember:

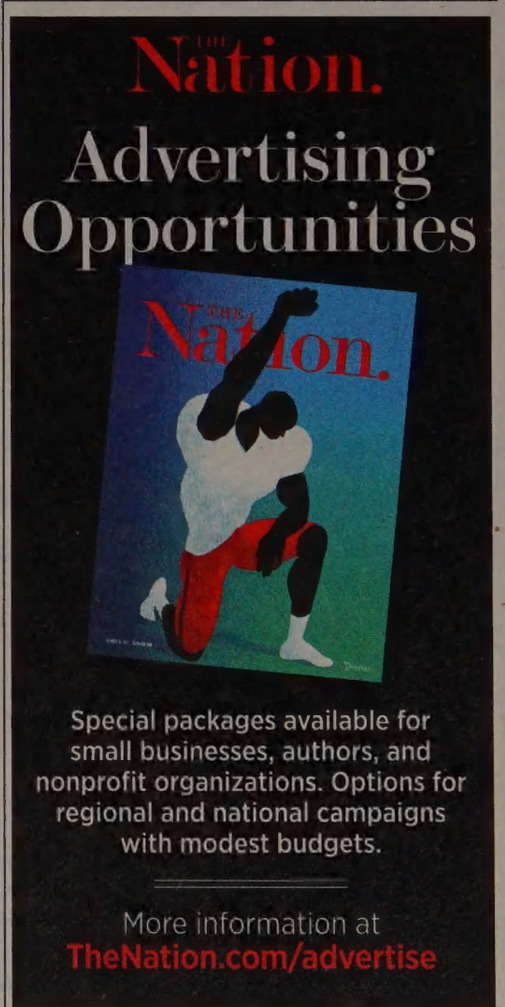
What about foxgloves?
Is that a flower you liked?
I can't remember
You did most of my remembering for me
And now I stand untethered in a field full of wild foxgloves
Wondering if you're there
Or if a flower means anything
And what could anything mean in this crushing absurdity?

Grief, he's saying, does strange things to the mind—it becomes hard to remember who you were before you were stranded, alone. Whereas *A Crow Looked at Me* was about the immediacy of grief, and coming to terms with how it crowds nearly every other feeling out, *Now Only* deals in the ambiguity of autobiography: Elverum goes searching in the story of him and Geneviève, though he understands the danger therein. In the album's title track, Elverum elaborates:

As my grief becomes calcified, frozen in stories,
And in these songs I keep singing, numbing it down,
The unsingable real memories of you
And the feral eruptions of sobbing,
These waves hit less frequently.
They thin and then they are gone.
You are gone
Then your echo is gone
Then the crying is gone
And what is left but this merchandise?

There's no answer, but of course Elverum isn't looking for one. Meanwhile, the music on "Now Only," as on the rest of the album, is mostly strummed guitars under Elverum's soft, evocative talk-singing. The songs are long; only one is under five minutes. And while they're quiet, it's hard not to hear the album as a sustained, 43-minute scream. Elverum has seen everything, and even now he can see Geneviève's bones:

You're still out there
In the spring upheaving,
Coming out of the ground, into air.
Is that exact fragment your finger that once caressed me?
Not that long ago,
I still can feel it. ■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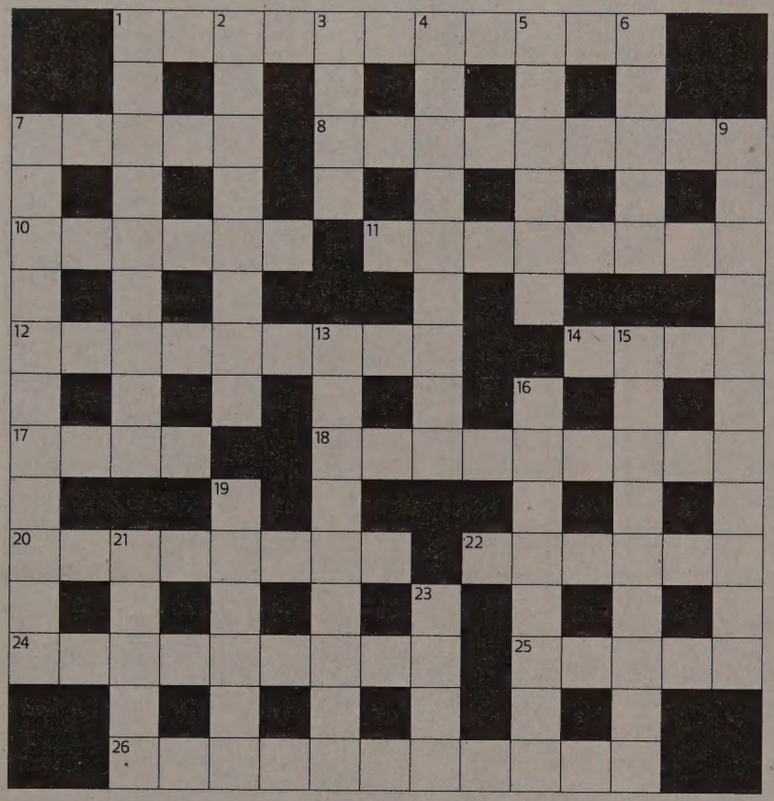


ACROSS

1 Provide food and support for insect (11)

7 Partner's half of counterrevolution (5)

8 Where celebrities are often found: an eco-chamber? (5,4)

10 Fat cat's last permit (6)

11 People making a choice to eat right (doughnuts, more or less) (8)

12 State "Costello is McKellen" to actor in the lead (9)

14 Small joke twisted… (4)

17 …with phone-company unit (4)

18 Frame that is ruined as a consequence (9)

20 Jockey is a guy backing theatrical program of skits, songs, and dances (8)

22 Eatery with zero cash (6)

24 In Northern California, crank is awake during the night (9)

25 Ironclad escape for 7A (5)

26 Filmmaker's building extension in roughly all four directions (5,6)

DOWN

1 Legal action in polite attire? (5,4)

2 Race winner's fast pace uphill, showing equilibrium after shedding outer garments (8)

3 Unrestrained anger, lacking the final bit of inhibition! (4)

4 Booze in Spielberg movie about Eno (9)

5 Advance by Confederate general sounds forlorn (6)

6 Where the Lyonnais get water to sharpen razor's edge, at first (5)

7 Book caught fire and raised welt—a portent (6,5)

9 Hit man's crumpled up cable for a hateful person (11)

13 Amusement in the morning hours? That's a contradiction for a Belgian or Greek ruler (9)

15 Heavily step up, clutching open fabric for tablecloth alternative (5,4)

16 Productive territory on the upswing, getting one over terrible flu (8)

19 Foretells the end of summer in nearly a month (6)

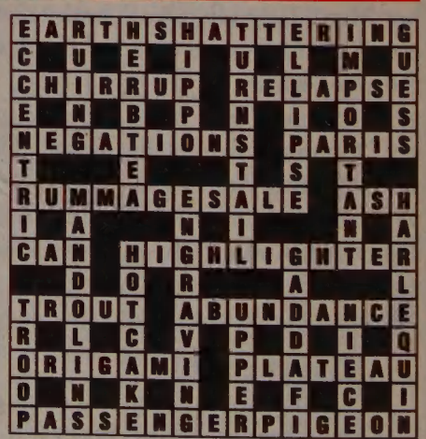
21 Rising, I see tin chip (5)

23 Swiss artist's modeling material discussed (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3464

ACROSS **1** anag. **9** CHI + RRUP (rev.) **10** [t]RELA + PSE (rev.) **11** anag. **12** PAR + IS **13** RUM(MAGE'S)ALE **16** & **18** [tr]ASH CAN **19** HIGH + LIGHTER **21** T + ROUT **22** A BUN DANCE **25** O(RIGA)M + I **26** P(LATE + A)U (*up* rev.) **27** letter bank

DOWN **1** EC(CENT)RIC (*Circe* rev.) **2** RUIN + G **3** anag. **4** HI + PP + O **5** "tern's tale" **6** EL(LIP)SE **7** anag. **8** hidden **14** MANDOLI(N)S (*salmon I'd* anag.) **15** ENG + RAVING **17** HAR (rev.) + L + EQUIN[e] **19** H(OTC)AKE **20** GA + DDA + FI (rev.) **21** T + ROOP (rev.) **23** [s]UPPER **24** NI(E)CE



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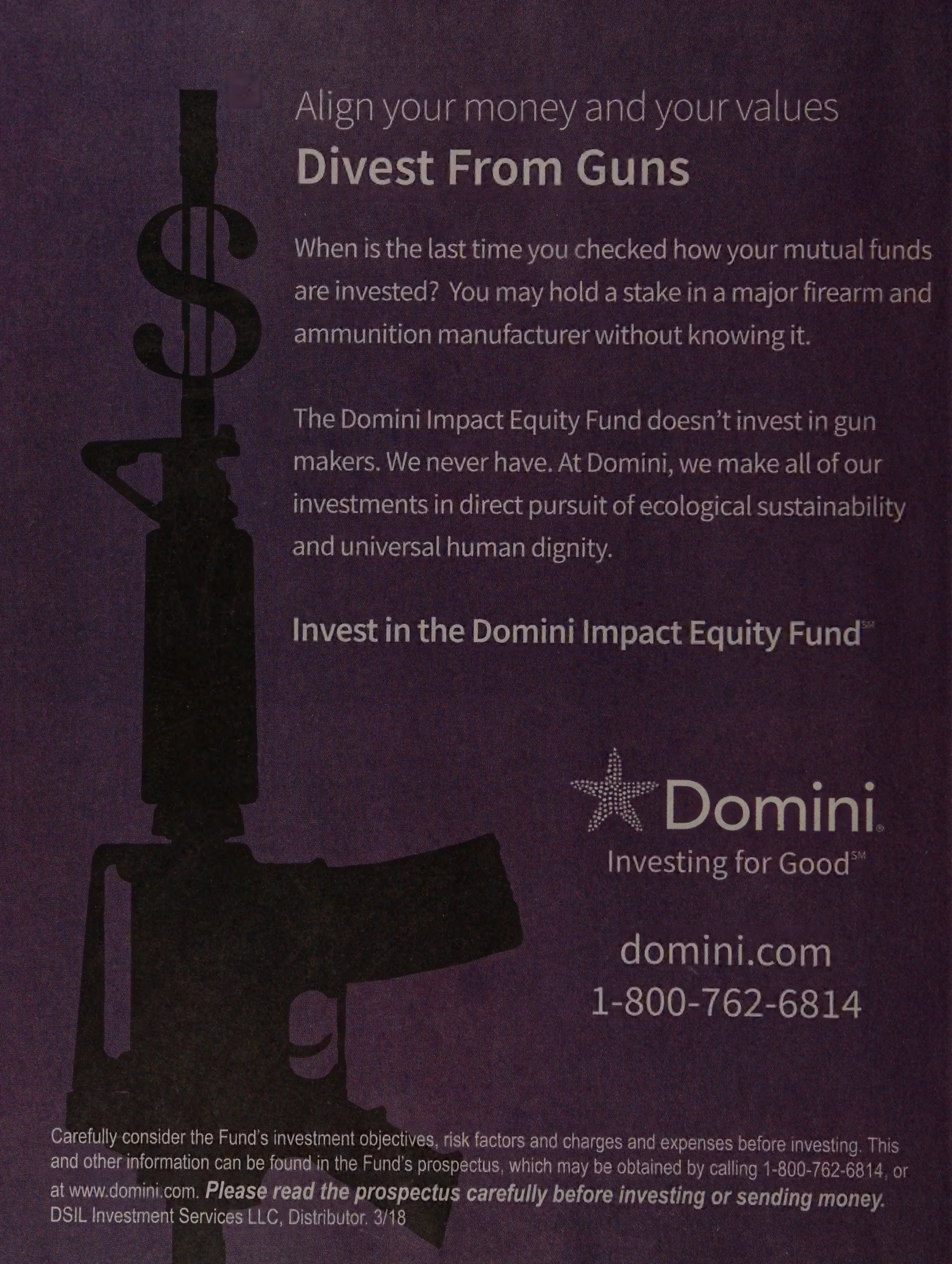
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